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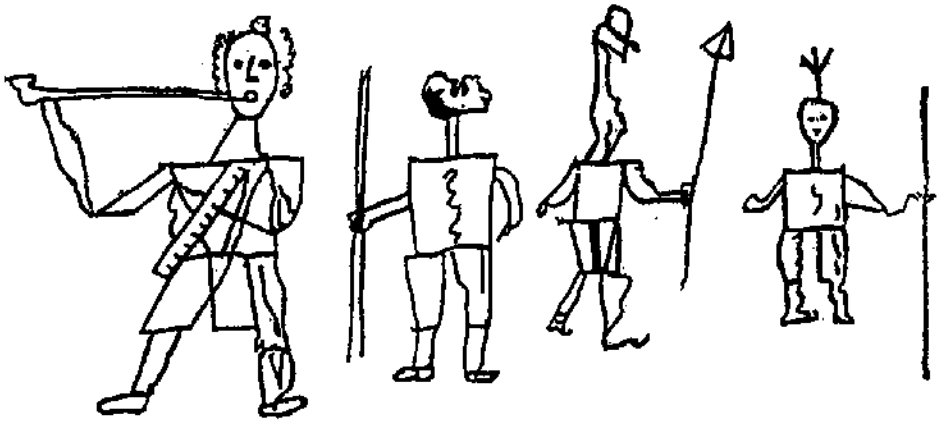
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK THEME STUDY

HISTORIC CONTACT:

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN PEOPLE AND COLONISTS IN NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA, 1524-1783



Robert S. Grumet
Archeologist, Cultural Resources Planning Branch
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National Park Service
1992

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In Memory of Bert Salwen,

a founder of historical archeology, who through a lifetime of saving the past for the future, never forgot that good archeology is good planning.

Cover Illustration: Pictographs, Indian deed to Staten Island, New York, July 10, 1657 (in O'Callaghan and Fernow 1853-1887(14):394)

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FOREWORD

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 declared historic preservation to be a policy of the Federal Government. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior, through the National Park Service, to make "a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional values as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." The Secretary declares those properties found to possess "exceptional" historical significance to be National Historic Landmarks. These nationally significant properties are identified ideally through thematic studies which evaluate surviving structures and sites within topics of our national history and archeology.

The first theme studies in archeology were undertaken between 1958 and 1962; these resulted in the designation of 74 archeological landmarks. I regret that no such studies have been done in the three decades since then. It is for this reason that I believe the present Historic Contact Period theme study, covering the northeastern United States, represents an important initiative. For the first time in 30 years the critically significant advances in our understanding of archeology are being reflected again in the results of the National Historic Landmarks Survey.

I am confident that this vanguard survey will encourage land planning agencies at all levels of government and preservation organizations both public and private to adapt the methodology of this survey to their special needs.

Jerry Rogers
Associate Director, Cultural Resources,
National Park Service

PREFACE

This study was made for two purposes: to identify archeological sites for special attention by the National Park Service; and, as Jerry Rogers writes in the Foreword, to reflect "the critically significant advances in our understanding of archeology." My concern as a historian is primarily with the latter goal.

It has been well achieved. The study shows great progress in information newly turned up as well as in the innovative methods adopted by archeologist everywhere. While everyone will agree that the tasks ahead are immense, and the passage of time makes them harder, the giant strides already made are statistically measurable in the study's bibliography. More then half of its citations are to publications issued since 1980: -- 543 compared to 523 in all the years before 1980.

By this bibliographical measure, work in the field proceeded at a steady, unexciting pace until it began to pick up in 1973 and really took off in 1978, accelerating again in 1985. This is not a bell curve. Archeology is beginning to come into its own not a minute too soon, and this theme study reveals its importance to scholarship in all the disciplines related to human culture.

A major problem for which its evidence must be decisive concerns the much disputed question of pre-contact Amerindian populations. We know from written documents that many epidemics swept away Indian peoples after the introduction from Europe and Africa of diseases new to the "Americans." Was there one giant pandemic ravaging the entire continent before European scribes were present to describe it? Only the evidence in the earth can answer.

What do we know about how and when North America was originally populated, and how its peoples moved about and dealt with each other, not to speak of how they made their livings? Nobody wrote it down. Long after Europeans arrived in parts of the continent, large regions remained unknown to them, so that our only sources of information are oral traditions and artifacts marking routes of passage. Some scientists are dubious about the validity of oral traditions; the artifacts can either confirm or refute them.

What sort of intertribal trade networks existed before the introduction of European goods created new systems of intersocietal exchange with each other before 1492, and what do they imply about the lives and psychologies of those Indians? When did particular tribes begin to trade with Europeans, and how were their cultures affected by this novelty? The men who recorded the fact of trade -- not all of them wanted it known -- were wholly uninterested in its effects on Indian culture; we must go to the material evidence for that.

Such questions are relatively new to archeology, and to history also! They require patient examination of surviving artifacts, the results of which can suggest much about tribal

migrations also. It is true that scholars are far from consensus about the interpretation of much evidence. I have heard heated argument between two serious and well informed archeologists about the disappearance from history of St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Because the vanished Iroquoians' ceramic pots traveled in one direction while their smoking pipes went elsewhere, the debaters could not agree as to which direction had been taken by the Indians. In that case, the solution to their problem required resort to evidence of the written sort.

On the other hand, this theme study stresses findings that conclusively prove the falsity of certain written documents. For centuries it had been assumed, practically as dogma, that the Delaware Indians had been conquered and made "women" by the Iroquois, and so had become incompetent to own land or decide weighty matters of war or peace. This assumption had become central to nearly all historical and anthropological studies of the Delawares (and of colonial Pennsylvania) until recently, and it was supported by a Seneca oral tradition. Nobody noticed that the "tradition" was itself derived from a written document that started as an English diplomatic ploy against France.

How could archeology contribute to such a muddle? By confirming two other tribal traditions: the Delawares' own and the Cayugas'. These agreed that the Delawares were "women" in the special context of eastern tribal cultures. They had been recognized by all the easterners as peacemakers, a role attributed to women. Now archeologists find that tribes to the north and south of the Delawares lived in concentrated fortified villages, always prepared for war, but the Delawares lived dispersed without fortifications. Obviously from such evidence, they were spared the fear of war, a finding that perfectly supports their own version of what "women" status meant.

One of the exciting features of this theme study is the attention it gives to disciplines other than archeology but relevant to it. The days are past when diggers measured and weighed objects and tried to determine their age without looking beyond the findings of their technologies. There can be no doubt whatever that such basic data are needed. Is the pun too awful to call them necessary spadework? But when we know the dimensions of the thing itself, the question arises for people outside the profession, "why bother?" Archeology has suffered much public neglect because its practitioners long ignored such concerns.

Now, however, as this theme study clearly demonstrates, the diggers have lifted their sights and are joining interdisciplinary discourse about the peoples of America, especially those who have been invisible to historians. As these peoples emerge to view, histories must be revised to take account of them.

Sorry to say, plenty of technicalities are still in the scene, though fewer than formerly. An outsider must plead for mercy and enlightenment when battered with terms like "concave-based Levanna projectile points", "Niantic series globular collared Hackney Pond and other terminal Windsor wares," and "Bowmans Brook/Overpeck." These things are jargon, probably meaningful to the initiated, certainly mysterious to outsiders. It cannot be repeated

too often that the language of interdisciplinary communication is Standard English. Jargon draws a curtain.

All disciplines have been handicapped by the fact reported in this theme study that "no general archeological synthesis of 18th-century North Atlantic life has yet been attempted." We owe congratulations and gratitude to the National Park Service for providing us with this new approach to such synthesis for the 16th and 17th centuries as well as the 18th.

It hardly needs to be added, but won't hurt to state plainly, that historians must pay serious attention to this new fund of archeological evidence, and incorporate it into their own work.

Francis Jennings
Director Emeritus, D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, the Newberry Library

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This theme study, like many other federally-funded archeological research projects conducted in the Northeast during the last ten or so years, owes much to Lloyd Chapman's support and guidance. Lloyd first suggested the project some months after I joined his staff in 1988. In the intervening years, he has indefatigably supported the project's development in the face of competing priorities and an always exacting workload. Whatever success this study encounters as a Historic Context may directly be attributed to his vision, and that of Departmental Consulting Archeologist Francis P. McManamon and Mid-Atlantic Region Associate Regional Director for Cultural Resources Katherine H. Stevenson, of what comprehensive preservation planning documents could and should be.

Their vision also inspired Senior Historian Ben Levy of the National Park Service's History Division in Washington to support this first attempt to use a National Historic Landmark theme study framework as a vehicle for a regional Historic Context. Working closely with our staff at every stage of project development, Ben helped us adopt the new National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form as the theme study presentation format and saw to it that all project products met National Historic Landmark program quality standards.

Richard C. Waldbauer of the Archeological Assistance Program's Washington Office also worked closely with our staff from the very beginning of the project. Patterson Tiller, Chief of the Washington Office's Preservation Planning Branch and Jan Townsend of the National Register Branch also rendered much needed technical assistance. Representatives from all Mid-Atlantic Region State Historic Preservation Offices provided essential support providing data, verifying product adequacy and accuracy, and serving as liaison between state, local, and tribal governments, specialists, and other members of their preservation community. Especially significant assistance was provided by David Poirier of the Connecticut Historical Commission, Richard Hughes of the Maryland Historical Trust, Charles Florance, then of the New York State Historic Preservation Field Services Bureau, Kurt Carr of Pennsylvania's Bureau of Historic Preservation, Paul Robinson of the Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, and E. Randolph Turner, III of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Society for American Archaeology National Historic Landmarks Committee members David S. Brose, Chair, Stanley A. Ahler, Jeanne E. Arnold, Albert Dekin, Jr., and Tim A. Kohler also conducted timely and cogent reviews of initial project products. Branch colleagues Tina C. LeCoff and Bert Herbert also provided support, encouragement, and guidance.

It is impossible to single out any one of the 20 National Historical Landmark property sponsors. Each contributed far more than anyone had any right to expect to assure the accuracy and adequacy of information presented in their nominations.

Three people I had come to depend on for advice and support, my mentor, Eleanor Burke Leacock, Bert Salwen, and James G.E. Smith, passed away just before or just as the project

got started. Luckily, Bruce Bourque, Robert Bradley, Alaric Faulkner, Herbert Kraft, Robert Maslowski, Kevin McBride, Martha Sempowski, and Dean Snow stepped in to provide much needed direction and data during critical early phases of project development. Later on, colleagues like Dena Dincauze, Gregory Dowd, Alice Kehoe, James Pendergast, Harald Prins, Donald Rumrill, William Starna, and Elisabeth Tooker took the time to extensively review early document drafts. Scores of other respondents answering the many calls for comment made by our office and the SHPO coordinators reviewed different parts of the manuscript at various times. Listed by name at the end of this document, these respondents suggested prospective NHL properties, directed attention to overlooked sites or sources, corrected errors big and small, and generally saw to it that the information contained within these pages was as accurate and precise as possible.

I have felt more like the leader of a chorus than anything else during this project's development. I have done my best to listen closely and fairly to each chorister as we've struggled together to bring out the ensemble's best qualities. I hope that they and you will give a forgiving ear to the piece's discordances as you enjoy its harmonies.

Robert S. Grumet
Archeologist, Cultural Resources Planning Branch, Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OVERVIEW:

The first three centuries of historic contact between Indians, Europeans, and Africans in what is today the Northeastern United States shaped the national experience of the American people. This National Historic Landmarks Survey theme study surveys documentary, archeological, ethnographic, and other evidence to develop a planning document to identify, evaluate, and designate as National Historic Landmarks nationally significant properties associated with historic contact between peoples from two Old Worlds in the Northeast from the Atlantic Coast to the western reaches of the Trans-Appalachian highlands between 1524 and 1783.

This study combines two planning processes to achieve this goal. National Historic Landmarks Survey theme framework is used to systematize data relating to this important period in American history. Information associated with the first of these themes, "Cultural Developments--Indigenous American Populations: Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations," is organized within national-scale historic preservation planning process historic contexts establishing a comprehensive framework for their identification, evaluation, and designation.

In the short-term, these historic contexts are a vehicle supporting nomination of 16 new NHLs and the thematic upgrade of four existing NHL properties. All resources selected for nomination or thematic upgrade in this NHL theme study satisfy National Historic Landmarks program evaluation criteria and possess values unrepresented or under--represented in the NHL thematic framework. Non-contributing properties associated with other NHL thematic elements in nominated resources are noted and recommended for future study. In conformance with existing regulations, all landowners of nominated NHL properties have consented to designation.

In the long-term, this study is a planning tool that may be adapted or adopted by other federal agencies, state and local historic preservation offices, Indian communities, and others. Agencies and individuals interested in historic contact period resources also can use this document to increase public awareness of this critical period in our country's history. The volume further is a basic resource document for the period. Most specifically, frameworks and information presented in the following pages can be employed in the future to both nominate additional properties of national significance as National Historic Landmarks and propose other properties on different levels of significance for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and other registers.

MAIN THEME: Historic Contact Between Indian People and Colonists.

AREA: Northeastern United States.

CHRONOLOGY: 1524-1783.

SUB-PERIODS: Sixteenth Century
Seventeenth Century
Eighteenth Century

HISTORIC CONTEXT REGIONS:

The North Atlantic Region:

Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
Northern New Jersey
Southeastern New York
Northeastern Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont

The Middle Atlantic Region:

Delaware
Eastern Maryland
Southern New Jersey
Southeastern Pennsylvania
Eastern Virginia
Northeastern West Virginia

The Trans-Appalachian Region:

Western Maryland
Eastern Ohio
Central Pennsylvania
North, Central, and Western New York
Western Vermont
Central and Western Virginia
Northwestern West Virginia

HISTORIC CONTEXT SUB-REGIONS:

The North Atlantic Region:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Connecticut and Housatonic Rivers
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country
Munsee Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

The Middle Atlantic Region:

Delaware Country
The Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers
James and York Rivers
Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers
Susquehannocks
European-Indian Contact

The Trans-Appalachian Region:

Mohawk Country
Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier
Susquehanna Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands
European-Indian Contact

PROPERTY TYPES:

Habitations
Economic Activity Areas
Military Properties
Spiritually Significant Areas

KNOWN RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION:

[Please Note: Numbers in Parentheses Represent NHLs on NR and other duplications]:

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
NORTH ATLANTIC				
Maine	59	14	0	Cushnoc Norridgewock Pemaquid Pentagoet
Western Abenaki	13	1	0	0
Eastern Massachusetts	88	5	0	Nauset
Narragansett	19	5	0	Cocumscussoc
Eastern Connecticut	10	3	0	Mashantucket Pequot Fort Shantok
Connecticut and Housatonic River Valleys	77	1(2)	Mission House	0
Eastern Long Island	12	1	0	Fort Corchaug
Mahican	11	1(2)	Mission House	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts
Munsee	43	3		Minisink Ward's Point
Sub-Total: Indian Props	332	34(36)	1(2)	13
Dutch-Indian Contact	1(3)	0(1)	0	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts
French-Indian Contact	2(5)	0(1)	Fort St. Frederic Fort Ticonderoga	Norridgewock Pentagoet

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
Anglo-Indian Contact	21(30)	5(17)	Fort Crown Point Fort Halifax Fort Ticonderoga Fort Western Gemeinhaus Huguenot Street Hurley Mission House Old Deerfield	Cocumscussoc Cushnoc Fort Orange Pemaquid Schuyler Flatts
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	24(38)	5(19)	10(11)	0(9)
Total North Atlantic (Less Duplications):	356	39	11	13
MIDDLE ATLANTIC				
Delaware	28	1(2)	Abbott Farm	0
Eastern Shore	7	2	0	Chicone
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys	28	5(6)	Accokeek Creek	Camden NHL St. Mary's City NHL
James and York Valleys	10	4(5)	Colonial NHP	Pamunkey Reservation
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys	9	3	0	0
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic	1	0	0	0
Sub-Total: Indian Props	83	15(18)	3	4

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
European-Indian	6(10)	1(8)	Fort Christina Printzhof Colonial NHP Conrad Weiser Home James Logan Home St. Mary's City	St. Mary's City NHL
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	6(10)	1(8)	5(6)	0(1)
Total: Mid-Atlantic	89	16	8	4
TRANS-APPALACHIA				
Mohawk	85	1(3)	0	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts Upper Castle
Oneida	20	0(1)	Oriskany Battlefield	0
Onondaga	29	0	0	0
Cayuga	19	0	0	0
Seneca	58	1(3)	Boughton Hill	Old Fort Niagara NHL
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment	30	0	0	0
Susquehanna Valley				
Susquehannocks	27	7	0	Byrd Leibhart
Delawares	8	0	0	0
Shawnees	7(8)	1	0	0
Conoys	4	0	0	0
Tuteloes	1	0	0	0
Multicultural	3(4)	1	0	0
Unidentified	36	0	0	0
Susquehanna Total	88(12)	9	0	1

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
Maryland and Virginia Upland	17	3	0	0
Appalachian Highlands				
Monongahelas	42	1	0	0
Delawares	9	0	0	0
Shawnees	3(5)	1	0	0
Mingos	0(1)	0	0	0
Wyandots	1	0	0	0
Multicultural	2(5)	0	0	0
Unidentified	22	0	0	0
Appalachian High. Total	79(11)	2	0	0
Sub-Total: Indian Props	425	16	2	3
Dutch-Indian	0(2)	0(1)	0	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts
French-Indian	0(6)	0	Fort St. Frederic Fort Ticonderoga Old Fort Niagara	Old Fort Niagara NHL
Anglo-Indian	7(20)	1	Bushy Run Battle Fort Crown Point Fort Johnson Fort Klock Fort Necessity NB Fort Stanwix Fort Ticonderoga Johnson Hall New Town Battlefield Old Fort Niagara Oriskany Battlefield	Fort Orange Old Fort Niagara NHL Schuyler Flatts
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	7(28)	1(2)	12(4)	0
Total: Trans-Appal.	432	17	14	3

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
Sub-Total: North Atlantic	356	39	11	13
Sub-Total: Mid-Atlantic	89	16	8	4
Sub-Total: Trans-Appal.	432	17	14	3
Sub-Total: Indian Props	840	65	6	20
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	37	7	27	0
Total: Northeast	877	72	33	20

RESEARCH NEEDS AND QUESTIONS:

This theme study uses National Historic Landmark thematic elements to frame nationally significant areas of inquiry reflecting basic research needs and questions. Designated and nominated properties that have yielded or have the potential to yield nationally significant information of major scientific importance are listed on pages 273-286. Further information detailing the research status of studies associated with each element may be found on pages 301-320:

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i:	Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.
Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.g:	Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.

Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

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RECOMMENDED PLANNING GOALS AND PRIORITIES

The following 11 goals represent a schematic framework reflecting steps necessary to identify, evaluate, and designate cultural resources associated with historic contact in the Northeast. Each of these goals is offered as a recommendations for future action by State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, federal agencies, local governments, and other agencies responsible for managing cultural resources. Goals and priorities are proposed for the Northeast in general, its three constituent regions, each sub-region, and, where appropriate, for each SHPO. It is hoped that federal, state, and local cultural resource managers will employ these suggested goals and priorities to develop new initiatives and increase effectiveness of ongoing programs aimed at preserving and protecting historic contact and other cultural resources.

Priorities presented below are ranked from the highest (Priority 1) to the lowest (Priority 2) as follows:

Priority 1:	Highest Priority-- Much remains to be done.
Priority 2:	Medium Priority-- Some remains to be done.
Priority 3:	Low Priority-- Much work already has been accomplished.

GOAL 1: COLLECTING INFORMATION STORED IN REPOSITORIES

Identification, collection, and organization of already gathered written, oral, and material evidence stored in repositories is the necessary first step in any project. The quality, extent, and accessibility of information sources bearing upon historic contact in the Northeast varies widely. Very little information is available on historic oral records and interviews recording knowledge of modern native people, professional scholars, avocationalists, and others are only just getting underway in some areas. Different kinds of written information present a range of challenges and opportunities. Archeological or ethnographic field notes, for example, largely remain in their author's possession and are rarely available for public examination even after the demise of their creators. Written sources directly documenting 16th-century events, for their part, are rare in the North and Middle Atlantic and non-existent in Trans-Appalachia. And, although much has already been done, substantial opportunities remain to scholars interested in bringing fresh perspectives and techniques to the study of the vast corpus of records documenting 17th- and 18th-century relations between natives and newcomers in the Northeast.

The priority list below shows that some form of systematic documentary, oral, or artifactual information survey has been undertaken in every part of the project area. Although general coverage has been most intensive in Trans-Appalachia, a great deal of work has been done in most sub-regions within the North and Middle Atlantic regions. Most of this attention has been directed towards European-Indian contact. Relatively little, by contrast, has yet been done on relations between Indian and African American people or among various native peoples themselves. Investigators also need to direct more attention towards currently under-utilized collections and their documentation in public and private museums, laboratories, and other repositories.

Priority 1: **Areas where little or no systematic collection of information contained in publications, unpublished manuscripts and notes, laboratory and museum collections, memories of professional scholars and avocationalists, or other sources has yet been undertaken.**

None

Priority 2: Systematic data collection efforts have been undertaken from two or more information source types.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Eastern Shore
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic Region

Trans-Appalachia:

Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 3: Many or most sources have been systematically surveyed.

North Atlantic:

Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Munsee Country
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
Indian-European Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

GOAL 2: FIELD SURVEY

Field surveys examining land surfaces and buried sub-surface deposits verify locations, characteristics, and conditions of resources alluded to in written, oral, and other sources. Reconnaissance-level surveys generally are preliminary explorations sampling very small parts of relatively large areas. Intensive surveys, for their part, more closely examine particular sites or locales.

As listings below show, field surveys have been conducted in every region and sub-region within the project area. Despite this fact, substantial areas remain unsurveyed everywhere in the Northeast.

Priority 1: Areas where little or no survey of any type has been undertaken.

None

Priority 2: Areas where reconnaissance-level surveys have been undertaken and where fewer than 20 percent of inventoried properties have been intensively surveyed.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country

Middle Atlantic:

Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Appalachian Highlands

Priority 3: Areas where reconnaissance-level surveys have been undertaken and where more than 20 percent of inventoried properties have been intensively surveyed.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Munsee Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
Indian-European Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
European-Indian Contact

GOAL 3: CONDITION ASSESSMENT

Resource integrity is a major requirement for designation and protection. As mentioned earlier, the very nature of archeological resources often makes such determinations difficult. The following lists noting the range and extent of existing records bearing upon the issue indicate that substantial resources should be directed towards assessing property conditions in every area of the Northeast.

Priority 1: Little or no systematic condition assessment information.

None

Priority 2: Largely incomplete or possibly superceded information.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country
Munsee Country

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 3: Relatively substantially complete and up-to-date systematic information available.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Seneca Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
European-Indian Contact

GOAL 4: SHPO MANUAL INVENTORY DEVELOPMENT

Every SHPO maintains an inventory of cultural resources within its state boundaries. Areas and extent of coverage, data categories, and accessibility of these records vary considerably. The lists below represent an impressionistic assessment derived during theme study development of present abilities of SHPO files to expeditiously retrieve comprehensive information on inventoried properties associated with historic contact. Accessibility is variously determined by such constraints as condition and extent of indexing systems, visitor access, ability to respond to phone or written data search requests, and funding variables.

Every SHPO was able to answer theme study research queries requesting information on inventoried properties associated with historic contact. Three SHPOs possessing small or well-indexed files were able to directly respond by mail with comprehensive lists of inventoried properties. Those SHPOs possessing larger or less well-indexed inventories

required lengthy manual file searches by SHPO staff or visiting NPS personnel. Experience gained during theme study development suggests that increasing effort should be directed towards enhancing inventory files accessibility.

Priority 1: Incomplete or totally inaccessible files.

None

Priority 2: Substantially complete files for which accessibility could be improved.

Delaware
District of Columbia
Maryland
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New York
Pennsylvania
Vermont
Virginia
West Virginia

Priority 3: A generally complete and accessible system in place.

Connecticut
Maine
Rhode Island

GOAL 5: COMPUTERIZED SHPO INVENTORY DEVELOPMENT

Computers presently provide the quickest and most efficient means available to SHPOs to access and update inventory files. Recognizing this fact, all SHPOs presently are utilizing or contemplating adoption of computer systems. Only three SHPOs in the Northeast theme study project area currently extensively utilize computerized inventories. Pennsylvania's Bureau of Historic Preservation currently is working to upgrade its database system and complete entry of all manual files. New York, for its part, currently utilizes computerized databases maintained by State Universities or individual scholars. And Massachusetts is working towards completing data entry of existing manual inventory files.

Increased efforts should be made to find ways to assist SHPOs contemplating computerized data inventory adoption and enhance the utility of computerized inventory systems currently in use.

Priority 1: No computerized inventory exists.

Connecticut
Delaware
District of Columbia
Maine
Maryland
New Hampshire
New Jersey
Rhode Island
Vermont
Virginia
West Virginia

Priority 2: Under development or partially completed.

Massachusetts
New York
Pennsylvania

Priority 3: Complete up-and-running system in place.

None

GOAL 6: SHPO HISTORIC CONTEXT PLANNING DOCUMENT DEVELOPMENT

Each SHPO is required to prepare statewide or regional historic contexts as part of its comprehensive preservation planning effort. Most SHPOs have completed documents dealing with resources from various prehistoric or later historic periods. Five SHPOS in the project area listed below have produced finished historic contexts for historic contact period resources. Five others have published historic contexts for particular areas within their states or are preparing statewide documents. The remaining four SHPOs continue to plan preparation of historic contact period context documentation.

Priority 1: No document completed or under development.

District of Columbia
Connecticut
Maryland
New Hampshire

Priority 2: Document under development.

Maine
New York (some areas)
Rhode Island
Virginia
West Virginia

Priority 3: Document completed or being updated.

Delaware
Massachusetts
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
Vermont

GOAL 7: INTERDISCIPLINARY OVERVIEW SYNTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Interdisciplinary studies synthesizing findings drawn from published and unpublished sources, curated objects and other stored repository materials, field data, inventory listings, and other sources provide crucial supporting documentation for planning documents. Some studies, like Barry C. Kent's "Susquehanna's Indians" and Colin Calloway's recently published survey of Western Abenaki ethnohistory, effectively employ multi-disciplinary approaches combining archeology, ethnography, and history to comprehensively examine entire areas and periods (Calloway 1990; Kent 1984). Others, such as James Bradley's "Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500-1655" (J. Bradley 1987a), use the same techniques to intensively survey specific themes, time periods, or areas. As the almost total absence of non-documentary sources in most articles published in the recent "History of Indian-White Relations" volume of the "Handbook of North American Indians" (Washburn 1988) graphically shows, much remains to be done in this area.

Priority 1: No up-to-date document available.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Mahican Country

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Eastern Shore

Trans-Appalachia:

Oneida Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 2: Document under development, in thesis form, or in manuscript.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Narragansett Country
Munsee Country

Middle Atlantic:

Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country

Priority 3: Published document available.

North Atlantic:

Western Abenaki Country
Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Eastern Long Island
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic
Indian-European Relations

Trans-Appalachia:

Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
European-Indian Contact

GOAL 8: THEMATIC VALUE REPRESENTATION

As utilized in this theme study, the NHL Thematic Framework represents a series of nationally significant research questions. The following listings indicate the extent to which already designated NHLs and properties herein nominated as NHLs address research questions illuminating major aspects of historic contact in the Northeast.

Nominated properties address many currently unrepresented or under-represented thematic areas. Further efforts need to be made to identify and nominate properties illustrating Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments, maritime and religious sub-facets of Establishing Intercultural Relations, and all sub-facets bearing upon Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.

Priority 1: Thematic values represented by two or less designated or nominated properties.

North Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

Middle Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i:	Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

Trans-Appalachia:

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i:	Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.

Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

Priority 2: Thematic values represented by from two to five designated or nominated properties.

North Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g:	Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.

Middle Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g:	Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.

Trans-Appalachia:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g:	Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.

Priority 3: Thematic values represented by six or more designated or nominated properties.

North Atlantic:

Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.

Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.

Middle Atlantic:

Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.

Trans-Appalachia:

Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.

GOAL 9: NOMINATING NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS IN NEW AREAS

Areas within which no designated NHLs associated with the Indian side of historic contact existed at the beginning and during completion of this theme study have been considered Priority 1 high nomination priority areas. Areas where only one property possessing associations with historic contact had been previous designated as a NHL were considered Priority 2 medium nomination priority regions. Priority 3 areas where two or more properties possessing primary associations with Indian people during historic contact times already had been designated as NHLs were considered low nomination priority regions.

As the Priority 3 listing below so emphatically shows, only a very few currently designated NHL properties (such as Boughton Hill NHL) possess values primarily associated with the Indian side of historic contact. Because of this fact, special efforts have been made to increase recognition of all such properties in every Priority areas included in this theme study.

Priority 1: Areas containing no currently designated NHL.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Eastern Long Island
Dutch-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 2: Areas containing one currently designated NHL.

North Atlantic:

Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys — Munsee Country
Mahican Country

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

Seneca Country

Priority 3: Areas with two or more currently designated NHL properties.

North Atlantic:

French-Indian Contact — Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

European-Indian Contact

GOAL 10: AREAS STILL IN NEED OF NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK REPRESENTATION

Priority 1 areas represent sub-regions where no property associated with historic contact has been or is projected to be nominated as a NHL. Priority 2 areas contain only one NHL property associated with historic contact. Two or more NHLs are present in Priority 3 areas.

Extremely well documented intact properties located in Priority 1 areas, like the Fort Hill site in Western Abenaki Country, should be proposed for designation pending removal of existing nomination impediments. Other Priority 1 areas should be surveyed to identify and develop documentation sufficient to evaluate potentially nationally significant properties as future NHLs. Further study also should be undertaken to identify additional associated resources, increase overall designation numbers, and enhance NHL thematic representation in Priority 2 and 3 areas.

Priority 1: Areas where no property has been or is projected to be nominated as a NHL.

North Atlantic:

Western Abenaki Country

Middle Atlantic:

Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys

Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country

Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 2: Areas containing one property designated or nominated as a NHL.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country

Eastern Long Island

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore — European-Indian Contact
James and York Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country — Susquehanna Country

Priority 3: Areas containing two or more properties designated or nominated as NHLs.

North Atlantic:

Maine — Dutch-Indian Contact
Eastern Connecticut — French-Indian Contact
Mahican Country — Anglo-Indian Contact
Munsee Country

Middle Atlantic:

Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

European-Indian Contact

GOAL 11: NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES DESIGNATION

National Register studies provide the crucial basic level of identification and evaluation documentation necessary for managing cultural resources. Figures listed below do not represent exactly comparable enumerations. Several NR Districts contain large numbers of contributing properties while large numbers of individual sites may be long destroyed or be little more than small artifact scatters. These figures therefore represent approximations suggestive of broad designation patterns.

Priority 1: Less than 10 percent of inventoried properties are listed or have been studied for listing or eligibility.

North Atlantic:

Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Mahican Country
Munsee Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country (excluding Susquehannocks)
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands
European-Indian Contact

Priority 2: From 10 to 50 percent of inventoried properties are listed or have been studied for listing or eligibility.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Susquehanna Country (Susquehannocks Only)

Priority 3: **More than 50 percent of inventoried properties are listed or have been studied for listing or eligibility.**

None

It is further recommended that all SHPOs and other agencies coordinate results of historic contact period historic context planning findings to broaden management process integration by developing or enhancing effectiveness of public awareness initiatives, regulatory preservation mechanisms, cooperative preservation partnership efforts, and other cultural resource management tools and procedures.

NORTHEAST HISTORIC CONTACT NHL THEME STUDY DATA REQUIREMENTS:

Properties proposed for NHL designation must:

1. have landowner nomination consent.

2. possess intact deposits associated with property types that have yielded or are capable of yielding information sufficient to identify:

   A. period or periods of occupation or utilization.

   and

   B. sociocultural affiliations of site occupants.

   and

   C. site functions.

Properties possessing these attributes should yield or possess the potential to yield information capable of:

3. establishing site activity scheduling.
4. revealing intrasite variability.
5. identifying relationships with other locales or communities.
6. revealing environmental information.
7. representing thematic values presently not represented or under-represented in the NHL thematic framework.
8. representing cultures not presently represented or under-represented as NHLs or as properties within existing NPS system units.

NOMINATED NHL PROPERTIES AND THEIR SPONSORS:

Information provided by belowlisted sponsors has shown that the following properties possess values satisfying Northeast Historic Contact NHL Theme Study Data Requirements:

Byrd Leibhart, PA	Barry C. Kent
Camden NHL, VA	Vir. Department of Historic Resources
Chicone, MD	Richard B. Hughes
Cocumscussoc, RI	Patricia Rubertone
Cushnoc, ME	Leon Cranmer
Fort Corchaug, NY	Ralph S. Solecki and Lorraine E. Williams
Fort Orange, NY	Paul R. Huey
Fort Shantok, CT	Lorraine E. Williams and Kevin A. McBride
Mashantucket Pequot Reservation, CT	Kevin A. McBride
Minisink, NJ	Herbert C. Kraft
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY	Dean R. Snow
Nauset, MA	Francis P. McManamon
Norridgewock, ME	Bruce J. Bourque, Ellen R. Cowie, and James B. Petersen
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY	Douglas Knight and Patricia Kay Scott
Pamunkey Indian Reservation, VA	Vir. Department of Historic Resources
Pemaquid, ME	Robert L. Bradley
Pentagoet, ME	Alaric Faulkner
St. Mary's City NHL, MD	Henry M. Miller
Schuyler Flatts, NY	Paul R. Huey
Ward's Point, NY	Jerome Jacobson

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK THEME STUDY: HISTORIC CONTACT-EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN NORTH-EASTERN NORTH AMERICA, 1524-1783.

B. Associated Historic Contexts

HISTORIC CONTACT BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION, 1524-1783.

HISTORIC CONTACT BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION, 1524-1783.

HISTORIC CONTACT BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN REGION, 1524-1783.

C. Geographical Data

Historic contexts developed in this National Historic Landmark (**NHL**) theme study Multiple Property Documentation Form (**MPDF**) identify, evaluate, nominate, and recommend treatments for cultural resources associated with the earliest phases of contact between Indian people sharing broadly similar cultural traditions and people of European and African descent within the present northeastern quarter of the United States from 1524 to 1783. This area includes the following states:

Connecticut
Delaware
New York
Maine
Maryland
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New Jersey
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont
Virginia
Washington, DC
West Virginia

All of these states are located within the National Park Service (**NPS**) Archeological Assistance Division (**AAD**) Mid-Atlantic Region (**MARO**) service area. As many as 250,000 Algonquian, Iroquoian, or Siouian-speaking descendants of people who had first come to North Atlantic shores at least 11 millennia earlier were living on lands currently within these state boundaries when Western Europeans began sailing to the area with some regularity during the last decade of the 15th-century. Although these people belonged to different social, political, and cultural groups, all used broadly similar types of stone tools, clay pots,

and other domestically produced implements and weapons to feed, shelter, and cloth themselves and their families. Many of the tools and techniques they employed to hunt, fish, and forage had been in use in the Northeast in one form or another for thousands of years. Other developments, such as corn, bean, squash, and tobacco cultivation and the bow and arrow, were more recent innovations probably first introduced into the area sometime during the Late Woodland period between 1,100 and 500 years ago.

Although earlier contacts may have occurred, Indian people living along what is now the Northeastern coast of the United States first began meeting large numbers of Western European mariners from Spain, Portugal, France, England, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia during the 16th-century. The affects of these encounters ultimately were felt throughout the Northeast and the rest of North America. While several Europeans made attempts to colonize the coast during the 1500s, none succeeded in establishing permanent settlements until the following century. Taking advantage of new developments in sail, ship, and gun technology, these newcomers located their largest settlements around Massachusetts Bay, the Connecticut River valley, the lower reaches of the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, and Chesapeake Bay. Expanding outward from these centers, they struggled with Indian people and each other for survival and supremacy throughout the remaining years of the colonial era. During this time, colonial population in the Northeast rose from nothing to nearly 2,500,000 (including 500,000 people of African origin) as Indian population dropped as much as 90% below its pre-contact level. Although relations between natives and newcomers continue to the present day, the initial phases of historic contact in much of the Northeast ended in 1783 when colonists winning their own independence from Great Britain began to assert sovereignty over all Indians within lands claimed by the new republic.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE AND FUNCTION OF THIS THEME STUDY

The three historic contexts developed in this National Historic Landmark theme study survey archeological, documentary, documented oral, and other physical evidence to identify, evaluate, and designate or thematically upgrade properties in three regions of the Northeast associated with the earliest phases of historic contact between Indians, Europeans, and Africans in the Northeastern United States from 1524 to 1783. Published and unpublished sources in each region have been reviewed to assess the current state of knowledge on the subject. Sub-regional areas were identified on the basis of regularities and differences disclosed during this initial survey. Data summaries and inventories of properties containing resources clearly associated with historic contact were then developed for each of these sub-regions.

Information presented in this document has been collected from archival and archeological sources. Readers accordingly will find extensive treatments of settlement patterns, artifact types, and other more tangible aspects of culture contact in these pages. No single theoretical approach or interpretive framework has guided theme study research or development. Scholars such as Edward H. Spicer (1961), Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (1988), and Edward M. Larrabee (1976) have developed systematic frameworks to organize and explain regularities and differences in contact phenomena. Investigators like Mark Leone (Leone and Potter 1988), Patricia Rubertone (1990), and others are looking into the ramifications of meaning, trade, adaptation, gender, ethnicity, inequality, and other less tangible aspects of contact. All such syntheses and hypothetical reconstructions presently are subjects of intense discussion and debate in the scholarly community. Because of this fact, theoretical and methodological considerations illuminate but do not delimit the information that follows.

This document is the first NHL theme study to develop regional comprehensive preservation planning historic contexts. It is also the first theme study to use the National Register of Historic Place's recently developed Multiple Property Documentation Form. Using both frameworks to expand the scope of traditional NHL theme studies, this document combines NHL evaluation criteria with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation (National Park Service 1983) to identify, evaluate, and nominate or thematically upgrade the following 20 properties:

The Byrd Leibhart Site, Pennsylvania.
Camden NHL, Virginia.
The Chicone Site, Maryland.
The Cocumscussoc Site, Rhode Island.
The Cushnoc Site, Maine.
Fort Corchaug, New York.
Fort Orange Site, New York.
Fort Shantok, Connecticut.
Mashantucket Pequot Reservation Archeological District, Connecticut.
The Minisink Site, New Jersey.
The Mohawk Upper Castle Site, New York.
Nauset Archeological District, Massachusetts.
The Norridgewock Archeological District, Maine.
Old Fort Niagara NHL, New York.
Pamunkey Indian Reservation Archaeological District, Virginia.
Pemaquid Archaeological Site, Maine.
Pentagoet Archeological District, Maine.
St. Mary's City Historical District NHL, Maryland.
The Schuyler Flatts Site, New York.
The Ward's Point Site, New York.

Identified during historic context development, each of these properties has been shown to meet National Historic Landmark program evaluation criteria by possessing intact deposits associated with property types that have yielded or are capable of yielding information sufficient to identify period or periods of occupation or utilization, sociocultural affiliations of site occupants, and site function. Non-contributing properties associated with other NHL thematic elements in nominated resources are noted and recommended for future study. Nominated with the consent of their landowners, each of these properties also has been found to yield or possess the potential to yield information capable of:

1- **establishing site activity scheduling** through the preservation of features or in situ deposits containing animal remains, plant remains, or artifacts capable of revealing when and how often sites were occupied or used.

2- **revealing intrasite variability** distinguishing specific activity areas such as cooking hearths, storage or refuse pits, house or fortification post mold patterns, or other features or deposits enabling archeologists to determine how and for what reasons sites were occupied or used.

3- **identifying relationships with other locales or communities** through the presence of exotic artifacts or features.

4- **revealing environmental information** through pollen or soil samples, faunal or floral remains, and other direct sources or indirect sources such as site location and property type.

5- **representing thematic values presently not represented or under-represented in the NHL thematic framework.**

6- **representing cultures not presently represented or under-represented as NHLs or as properties within existing NPS system units.**

Information associated with each of these variables is presented within appropriate NHL thematic framework elements (see below) and summarized in data requirement grids located in Section 8 of each individual nomination form.

Theme studies gather, synthesize, and present data bearing upon nationally significant aspects of American culture and history. Representing important scholarly contributions in their own right, them studies traditionally have primarily served as National Historic Landmark property designation vehicles. As a result, few theme studies have found wider audiences after fulfilling their immediate objectives. This situation is changing. In recent years, the NPS has placed increased emphasis on making research findings available to wider publics. Inspired by this initiative, the present theme study uses standardized MPDF and comprehensive preservation planning historic context formats to help other federal agencies,

state, local, and tribal governments, scholars, and others adopt or adapt theme study research.

States, local municipalities, and tribal governments may use information contained in this theme study to develop historic contexts of their own. Agencies managing resources in multi-state service areas such as the National Forest Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers also may employ theme study findings to develop their own planning goals and priorities for particular properties or larger administrative areas. Finally, information in this document can be used to propose nomination of other properties associated with historic contact in the Northeast to local, state, and National Registers of Historic Places, as new National Historic Landmarks, or as World Heritage Sites.

HISTORIC CONTACT IN THE NORTHEAST

The 1992 Columbian Quincentenary reminds us that few events have influenced the course of history more than contact between the people of two Old Worlds begun in modern times in 1492. Although memorial observances are important events in themselves, they should do more than commemorate important occurrences. Studies of contact inspired by commemorative activities create opportunities to increase insight into all relations between strangers. Perhaps no where else has the challenge of contact been more extensively documented or better exemplified than in the history of the encounter between Indians, Europeans, and Africans in the Northeastern Woodlands of North America. Deeper appreciation of the causes and consequences of this encounter can lead to fuller understanding of contact in the Northeast, illuminate aspects of contact encounters in other places and at other times, and, by so doing, kindle greater awareness and appreciation of subtleties and complexities inherent in all contacts between people.

People, it seems, have always been fascinated by contact. The very idea of it conjures up images of exotic places, curious customs, and historic events. Perhaps the source of this fascination lies in the fact that, at its most basic level, contact is the story of encounters between strangers. Everyone knows about strangers. No matter what they do or how they do it, strangers are different. Strangers represent the uncertainties inherent in any contact with the unknown or unfathomable. Regarded as fascinating foreigners, dreaded as fearsome outsiders, or looked down on as inferiors, they are nearly always thought of as aliens somehow different from family or friends.

People nevertheless need strangers. Allies or adversaries, they provide otherwise unobtainable goods and services. Basic human institutions such as trade, diplomacy, marriage, and war all trace their origins to the common human need to deal with such people. Although everyone deals with strangers in different ways, all people try to get what they want while avoiding whatever is thought or felt to be dangerous or undesirable.

No matter how much we come to depend upon strangers or how familiar they become, we can never entirely be sure that they think about or feel things in quite the same ways we do. Recognizing the fact that no two people perfectly understand one another, anthropologist Marshall Sahlins has used the expression "creative misunderstanding" to characterize relationships between strangers meeting each other's expectations for often entirely different reasons (Sahlins 1981).

Contact with people one can only creatively misunderstand can arouse strong emotions. People sometimes deal with such emotions by trying to drive away, dominate, or destroy strangers. At other times, people work to turn outsiders into family and friends. Rituals, such as modern World-System diplomatic protocols or the wampum exchanges and Calumet dances used throughout the Northeast during historic contact times, are meant to lessen tensions somewhat by orchestrating and controlling meetings between strangers in orderly expectable ways. Rituals are not always used to regulate contacts. Some people try to avoid all contacts. Others, such as Central African Mbuti tribesfolk who reputedly openly receive all visitors as friends and family, choose to dispense with formalities altogether.

No matter how they are regulated, most contacts between strangers are indirect. In their most extreme form, they can occur as some form of "blind barter" in which trade partners never meet one another face-to-face. Most people, however, conduct business with strangers through special intermediaries thought to possess unusual powers or abilities (Helms 1988). Specialists skilled in dealing with strangers exist in every society. Called "cultural boundary role players" by anthropologist Fredrik Barth, such people serve as brokers managing often volatile and always uncertain relationships between strangers meeting at cultural, socio-political, or other borders (Barth 1969).

Whether contacts occur in face-to-face meetings or as indirect transactions knowingly or unknowingly brokered by intermediaries, all encounters between strangers move ideas, people, and things across cultural divides. Words usually used to characterize such movements, like trade, exchange, or war, are imprecise approximations rarely conveying their full meanings or implications. Coercive or compulsory exchanges, for example, may more closely resemble war or taxation than trade. Locations, compositions, and boundaries of groups involved in exchanges, moreover, frequently can change. All of these factors further rarely are seen the same way by different people. Because of these facts, the consequences of contact are neither predictable nor controllable. Under certain conditions, introduced ideas, materials, or technologies may revolutionize societies and overturn established orders. Under others, contact seems to merely reaffirm people's most cherished notions of themselves and their place in the world. No matter what their causes or consequences, people everywhere struggle to reap what they regard as the benefits of contact while avoiding what they feel are its hazards or drawbacks.

The story of historic contact between Indians and colonists in Northeastern North America has its own inherent fascination. As geographer David Lowenthal reminds us, other times

fascinate as much as other people and places (Lowenthal 1985). Fewer regions of the world have seen greater numbers of strangers in contact with one another in more places at one time than in Northeastern North America between 1524 and 1783. Small wonder, then, that people everywhere have been fascinated by stories of contact in the Northeast since word of the first European voyages to places like Canada, New England, and Virginia spread throughout the Eastern and Western hemispheres.

Indian people generally have regarded the story of contact as parable and prelude. Drawing from their own traditions, many Indian commentators have seen enduring themes of conflict and cooperation enacted in contact events. Nearly all trace the origin of present conditions to contacts beginning 500 years ago. Drawing similar conclusions from their own cultural perspectives, newcomers generally have contemplated contact history from romantic or rationalist points of view. Romantics have viewed the Northeast as a stage where struggles between noble savages and heroic pioneers like the mythical Chingachgook and Hawkeye or real people such as Pocahontas and John Smith or Metacomet (more widely known as King Philip) and Benjamin Church, have been played out against a dramatic backdrop of unspoiled natural splendor and international intrigue. As archeologist Bruce T. Trigger notes, present-day romantics tending to idealize Northeastern and other Indian people as natural ecologists or members of preferable types of society admire what they regard as their superior social, political, economic, and metaphysical understandings. Often regarding Indian cultures as ineffably different from their own, such people also frequently mystify their lifeways as unique and not fully comprehensible in any but their own terms (Trigger 1991).

Rationalists, for their part, also have long played their role in shaping our view of contact in the Northeast. Ambitious entrepreneurs like William Penn and hard-headed imperial expansionists such as Sir William Johnson regarded the land and its people as exploitable resources presenting opportunities for unlimited growth and development. Pamphleteers have flooded newsstands and mailboxes with promotional brochures touting the value of Northeastern real estate since earliest colonial times. More recent rationalist scholars have sought to explain the causes and consequences of contact between natives and newcomers by weighing impacts of economic, social, political, and other influences on people and land (Trigger 1991).

The general dimensions of contact in the Northeast, mutual discovery, conflict, accommodation, the military and political subjugation of Indian people, and their continuing struggle to preserve their cultures and traditions, are widely-known and extensively documented (Leacock and Lurie 1988; Trigger 1978a; Washburn 1988). Although most people appreciate the complexities of this encounter, many people today regard contact between Indian, European, and African people in the Northeast as an invasion of the western hemisphere by people primarily from Europe (Jennings 1975). Northeastern contact certainly can be understood as a devastating onslaught mounted on a continental scale (Jennings 1975). Europeans first arrived uninvited to the region's shores during the last

decade of the 15th-century. Conflict subsequently dominated aspects of most relations between natives and newcomers as both struggled for survival and sovereignty during the next 300 years. The initial phase of this struggle finally ended when rebellious Americans wrested control of the region from Great Britain at the end of the War of Independence in 1783. By then, most surviving native people were dispossessed by newcomers from all but the poorest of their lands. Denied representation in new American legislatures and forced to accept unasked-for and frequently meager protections of American law, most Northeastern native people had to acquiesce to the realities of life with foreign strangers or move.

Seen from the vantage point of the present-day, the defeat and dispossession of Northeastern Indians by European invaders appears as an inevitable and unavoidable outcome of inexorable historical processes. Possessing seemingly superior tools and weapons and inadvertently aided by and occasionally deliberately employing new diseases, newcomers settling along the Atlantic seaboard achieved overwhelming numerical superiority over neighboring Indian people by 1700. By the time the new American republic won its independence from Great Britain 83 years later, nearly two and a half million newcomers controlled most of the Northeast. More than 1,800,000 of these settlers were Europeans. The rest, numbering more than 500,000 individuals, were people of African ancestry (McCusker and Menard 1985). Total Northeastern Indian numbers, by contrast, had dwindled from more than a quarter of a million people to less than 50,000 during the same period. Thousands of people of mixed parentage born to unions between Indians and people of European or African descent, for their part, became members of existing communities or formed small multi-racial or multi-cultural enclaves of their own.

A closer look at records of the time shows that the outcome of early contacts in the Northeast was neither irrevocable nor inevitable. Instead, contemporary documents reveal that people then as now rarely took the future for granted. Although nearly all recorded expressions of Indian opinion reflect feelings of anger, apprehension, or approbation, native people confronting military, cultural, and pathogenic invasions probably tried to hope for the best as they prepared for the worst. While most newcomers generally expressed confidence and assuredness in their writings, experience showed even the most optimistic settler that many of their perceived advantages were more apparent than real.

Impelled onward by vigorous political ideologies and compelling spiritual beliefs, most looked to their numbers, iron axes and plows, and newly-developed guns, sails, and ships to overcome the land and its original inhabitants. No matter how strong their belief in themselves and their tools, most ultimately had to adjust to prevailing conditions. And, although they belonged to societies reckoning populations in the millions, settlers trying to colonize Indian lands neither instantly nor invariably outnumbered native people. Although they subsequently achieved preponderance along a narrow strip of Atlantic coastline by the middle years of the 1600s, they did not enjoy numerical superiority everywhere in the region. People of African origin became majority populations in many parts of Chesapeake country

during colonial times. Farther west beyond the Appalachians, native people overwhelmingly outnumbered newcomers up until the end of the American War of Independence.

No matter what their numbers were, Indian people possessed their own considerable resources in the contact encounter. First and foremost, nearly every Indian community maintained the ability to feed, cloth, and shelter its members throughout the contact period. Most, moreover, maintained consensual forms of governance responsive to their wants and needs. Indian leaders skilled in consensual politics struggled to preserve the health and welfare of their people by cannily bargaining with strangers and by playing foreign rivals off against one another. Civil chiefs schooled in the skills of forest diplomacy, such as the Powhatan paramount **werowance** Wahunsunacock, the Eastern Abenaki chief Madockawando, Hackensack **sachem** Oratam, and noted Onondaga orator-diplomats Daniel Garacontie and Teganissorens, tried to secure advantages for themselves and their people while stemming the tide of colonial expansion. Striving for peace, they continually reminded strangers that their warriors and military leaders could be formidable adversaries in battle. And when more peaceable expedients failed, war chiefs such as Pontiac and Joseph Brant led warriors using weapons and tactics adapted to the conditions of forest warfare in combat with their enemies.

Like newcomers, Indian people also were able to draw upon considerable spiritual resources. Most continued to honor the ways of their ancestors during the first centuries of contact. As things changed, prophetic reformers, such as the Delaware prophet Neolin, and native missionaries such as Presbyterian Mohegan minister Samson Occom, recast old beliefs or brought promises of new religions to embattled believers.

Even in defeat, with prophets discredited and leaders killed or compromised, many Indian people were able to avoid domination or destruction by moving away to places beyond the limits of colonial settlement. Settling among other Indian people or establishing expatriate communities of their own in places like northern New England, the Ohio Valley, and the Great Lakes, many exiled native Northeasterners continued to resist foreign attempts to dominate, destroy, or drive them away for decades after the War of Independence ended.

Unable to completely determine the scope or impact of contact developments, natives and newcomers alike struggled to adapt themselves to changing and uncertain conditions (Kupperman 1980; Morrison 1984). Forced to adjust to the realities of their situation, Indians, Europeans, and Africans continually moved tools, goods, and ideas back and forth across cultural divides criss-crossing the region. As they moved, many of these things came to be used in new, different, and unforeseen ways while others found similar employment everywhere. In these and other ways, contact between these people released a stream of ideas, products, and people that continues to flow back and forth undiminished across the Atlantic Ocean. Whether it is seen as an invasion or a case-study in symbiotic relationships, this "Columbian Exchange" transformed the world as it brought people on both sides of the Atlantic into a wider world than any known by their ancestors (Crosby 1972 and 1986).

UNDERSTANDING NORTHEASTERN CONTACT

As mentioned earlier, the national significance of the story of this encounter is well known and widely appreciated. Scholars sifting through masses of written, architectural, ethnographic, archeological, and other evidence have studied nearly every aspect of contact. Results of recent research have been particularly productive. Despite these efforts, the overall record of contact in the region remains tantalizingly incomplete. Most physical evidence consists of scattered and often enigmatic archeological or written materials. Much oral tradition remains uncollected or unstudied. Much of the record of contact has not survived intact to the present day. What has survived often is inadequately surveyed or incompletely analyzed.

These problems are not unique to contact studies. Researchers investigating the past always face formidable obstacles. Archeologists dedicated to finding and interpreting physical evidence joining events to their locales and dates of occurrence, for example, continually labor to extract additional information from already known sites while working to find and protect new resources. Ethnohistorians trying to deal with incomplete or inconsistent bodies of documentation work to overcome the limitations of time, space, and interpretive viewpoint. To complicate matters further, investigators working in one field often refrain from crossing disciplinary lines. Even when they do, few agree on findings of fact or interpretation.

People trying to understand relations between natives and newcomers in the Northeast face particularly vexing challenges. Investigators working to bridge cultural and chronological gaps separating our time from the colonial past rarely agree on matters of chronology, geography, or interpretation. Most are keenly aware that the volatile nature of contact events led conditions to change in considerable and often unexpected ways. As mentioned earlier, scholars limited by the fragmentary nature of surviving resources and inspired by differing theoretical, cultural, and personal viewpoints have not yet been able to agree on any single interpretative or organizational scheme. Many investigators, for example, accept the proposition that the end of the American War for Independence marks the close of the earliest phases of historic contact in most parts of the Northeast. Few, by contrast, agree on when or where contact began. Some writers believe that contact began with ancient arrivals of Celts, Iberians, Africans, or other outlanders to American shores. Others trace contact to the time of the first Norse voyages nearly 1,000 years ago. Although these and other views have many adherents, most people presently think that the modern historic contact period began when Spanish, Portuguese, Basque, French, and English sailors began traveling to the Northeastern coast during the 1490s.

While the exact beginnings of contact remain unclear, the consequences of the "Columbian Exchange" are well known. Contact changed very nearly every aspect of life in the North Atlantic world. Collectively, these changes represented only the most recent of a long chain of events that had transformed life on both sides of the Atlantic in revolutionary ways since

the 14th-century. These changes neither occurred overnight nor did they unfold in orderly predictable ways. Instead, they were the results of complex processes whose impacts were felt in different ways by different people at various times and places.

This does not mean that all changes were random. Archeological evidence indicates that Indian life throughout all but the northernmost reaches of the region began to focus around unprecedentedly larger and more centralized settlements as Europeans moved towards the Renaissance during the 14th and 15th centuries. Most of these people began crafting new and distinctive forms of pottery, stone tools, and shell ornaments as they produced more substantial crops of corn, beans, and squash. Other evidence suggests increasing incidences of trade, warfare, and migration throughout much of the region as explorers sailing for newly emergent European nations begin to chart Atlantic shores during the 1500s. Written records chronicling the early decades of the 1600s corroborate archeological evidence attesting to intensifications of these and other developments as Europeans managed to establish their first successful permanent footholds along the Atlantic seaboard.

Archeological remains, written documents, and oral traditions show that Northeastern Indian people adopting European imports gradually shifted production from stone tools, clay pots, and other traditional manufactures to trade commodities such as beaver pelts and wampum shell beads as the 17th-century wore on. Adoption of European manufactures gradually turned to dependence as native people abandoning ancestral skills found themselves unwilling or unable to live without foreign goods. Ironically, most Northeastern Indian people ultimately became dependent upon imports at the same time settlers struggling to reduce their own dependence on home country markets freed themselves from direct European political control by 1783.

These changes occurred as demographic shifts of unprecedented size and scope transfigured the Atlantic community. The already mentioned movement of millions of Europeans and Africans to the Northeast was part of a more massive series of migrations that began on or about the time of the first trans-Atlantic contacts. Epidemic contagions spread by migrants killed hundreds of thousands of people on both sides of the Atlantic. Bubonic plague from Asia joined with syphilis and other Western Hemisphere diseases to ravage Western Europe while Indian people struck by smallpox, measles, and other new maladies against which they had no natural immunities sickened and died in unnumbered thousands (Crosby 1969; Dobyns 1983; Elting and Starna 1984; McNeill 1976; Ramenofsky 1987; Snow and Lanphear 1988; Spiess and Spiess 1987).

Countless thousands more were killed on both sides of the Atlantic in wars whose ferocity rose as technical, logistical, and tactical developments made violence a more efficient and lethal business. In Europe, struggles such as the Thirty Years War, which caused the deaths of as much as two-thirds of the entire German Rhineland population between 1618 and 1648, devastated entire regions. During the same period, colonists all but obliterated the Pequots of Connecticut and the Powhatans in Virginia as warriors of the Iroquois League

of Five Nations depopulated much of the country surrounding their central New York homeland.

Although nations like the Iroquois were able to maintain their numbers for a time through wholesale adoptions of foreign tribesfolk and other means, Indian communities generally were not able to replace population losses as quickly as Europeans. No Indian community could draw upon the vast numbers of potential migrants available to the colonizing powers. Colonists settling along the Northeastern coast took advantage of this situation by establishing many of their first settlements on recently depopulated Indian lands. Chronicling this process, Francis Jennings has shown that while colonists naturally regarded the sparsely inhabited territories they moved to as "Virgin Land," they actually were settling upon newly desolated "Widowed Lands" (Jennings 1975).

Wherever they moved, newcomers struggled with Indians and each other for land and what it provided. Indian communities such as the Mohawks and other Iroquois nations anxious to maintain secure borders and adequate sources of supplies created buffer-zones around their heartlands by driving away or incorporating neighboring tribes. No less concerned with political and economic security, provincial authorities tried to obtain all the territory they could acquire. Many colonists used force against Indians and each other to seize land. Contending colonial administrators bickered over provincial boundaries and spheres of influence while their mother countries fought one another for control of the continent. Indian people ultimately were unable to avoid being embroiled in the wars growing out of these disputes. Some of these wars ended in devastating victories opening vast tracts of Indian land to colonial settlement. Others, however, resulted in far less decisive outcomes.

More thoughtful leaders warily weighed costs of war against potential benefits. Then as now, wars were disruptive and expensive. Their outcomes were neither always certain nor conclusive. Only a few struggles, like the above mentioned Pequot and Powhatan defeats, ended in clear-cut conquests. Most others dragged on interminably. French and English colonists battled one another off and on for more than 100 years while embittered tribesfolk like the Abenakis and Shawnees waged implacable war against invading settlers. More like feuds than wars, these imperial colonial struggles did not end until Americans began to impose centralized authority over most of the region after War of Independence ended in 1783.

People concerned by the costs and uncertainties of armed struggle looked for less disruptive way to expand their borders and defend what they already had. Most ultimately turned to diplomacy to come to terms with one another. Negotiations between Indians and colonists often were complicated affairs. Negotiators used highly stylized diplomatic forms blending European traditions and Indian protocols to reach agreements. Skilled forest diplomats, such as already mentioned Iroquois leader Teganissorens and New York's Sir William Johnson, held treaties, negotiated covenant agreements, and affixed their names or marks to deeds. Concordances reached at these meetings established or maintained more or less

stable relationships by settling disputes, formally transferring land rights, and by defining borders, rights, and obligations of treaty signatories.

Colonists began to use deeds to legitimate acquisition of Indian lands as early as the 1620s. Although Indian people did not believe in personal landownership, all recognized corporate land and resource rights. Such rights generally were transferred peaceably in ritualized negotiations or forcibly seized in no less ritually organized military conflicts. Unlike Indians, who did not possess writing before contact with Europeans, colonists employed written deeds to transfer land titles. Colonial authorities used deeds as a vehicle to extend sovereignty as well as ownership (Jennings 1975; Springer 1986). Like earlier unwritten agreements, deed negotiations between natives and newcomers were ritualized transactions. More than a few guaranteed continued Indian rights to lands and resources within purchased tracts. When used in this way, Indian deeds served as a form of treaty as well as a type of title transfers.

No matter how deeds worked, few colonists found Indians eager to sign papers surrendering their birthrights. Although most Indian people probably did not completely appreciate the full consequences of the first sales, they soon established creative misunderstandings with colonists interested in acquiring their lands. Even after establishing this relationship, most Indian people initially refused to sell all but the smallest portions of ancestral domains. Even fewer were willing to move among strangers after running out of land to sell. All Indians, however, were forced to face the fact that they ultimately could not stop settlers from trying to take their territory. Unwilling to capitulate outright to European demands, most gradually accepted the political realities of their situation by doing their best to slow the rate of land loss. Records of thousands of Indian deeds in archival repositories throughout the Northeast show that many succeeded in buying time by selling as little land as possible while extracting the maximum number of concessions from purchasers (Baker 1988; Grumet 1979; Springer 1986).

In the end, even this stratagem failed. By the time the newly independent colonies took their place among the world's nations in 1783, newcomers had used deeds to extend sovereignty over most Indian lands within modern state boundaries east of the Appalachians. Like other dispossessed people, Indians forced to part with their lands had to remain on small reservations or missions, establish homes on land owned by other people, settle on vacant or unwanted territory, or move elsewhere.

Once land was obtained, speculators, powerful proprietary lords, and government administrators competed for the labor of settlers, servants, and slaves to make it productive. New landowners from Maine to Virginia used African-American, Indian, and European slaves, indentured servants, and hired laborers to clear brush from former Indian fields, cut down forests, and plant crops. Laborers also worked to dig mines, build mills, and erect townsites. New roads and old waterways were used to link newly emerging colonial communities throughout the region. Many aspects of these and other economic developments have been extensively examined (e.g., Land, Carr, and Papenfuse 1977; McCusker and

Menard 1985; J.M. Smith 1959). Not surprisingly, much of this documentation has focused upon colonists and their activities (cf. Cronon 1983 for a particularly useful bibliographic survey of important North and Middle Atlantic sources).

Modern studies of the period no longer solely concentrate on settlers. Landmark events, such as the enactment of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, the creation of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946, the rise of the "Indian Power" and ecology movements in the 1960s, and the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, generated new waves of interest in Indian heritage. In the Northeast, this interest has gradually shifted the focus of contact studies. Writers of early American history traditionally portrayed Indian people as bit players in the colonial drama. No longer satisfied with this view, growing numbers of people are laboring to construct a different picture of events.

Inspired by the work of anthropologists William N. Fenton (Fenton 1940, 1948, 1951a, and 1957), Eleanor Burke Leacock (Leacock 1954; Leacock and Lurie 1988), Nancy O. Lurie (Lurie 1959; Leacock and Lurie 1988), historian Robert Berkhofer (Berkhofer 1973), and other proponents of what is today called the "New Indian History," increasing numbers of investigators are undertaking ethnohistorical studies creatively synthesizing the disciplines of anthropology and history. The more influential of these studies, such as Trigger's reconsideration of early Canadian "Heroic Age" history before 1663 (Trigger 1985) and Francis Jennings's and Neal Salisbury's pathbreaking ethnohistorical reevaluations of intercultural relations in early New England (Jennings 1975; Salisbury 1982a), are moving Indians from the periphery of contact to center stage. By depicting Indians as active participants in contact rather than passive victims inexorably caught in irresistible historical processes, these and similar studies are transforming our views of the American past.

Archeologists, of course, have been studying the material remains of the Indian side of historic contact for more than a century. Although written records and oral traditions provide otherwise unobtainable contextual information, archeological data can provide significant information unavailable anywhere else. Textual data tends to represent or reflect views or interests of particular individuals or groups. While graves and other deposits frequently reflect people's intentions as well as ideals, most archeological deposits tend to represent actual conditions at various times of occupation and abandonment. While burial chambers or certain materials like copper can differentially preserve site deposits, the forces of decomposition at work in most archeological sites rarely respect human wishes or intentions. This does not mean that archeological deposits precisely mirror social realities. Redistribution systems extensively chronicled throughout the Northeast, for example, generally make it difficult to correlate deposit qualities and amounts with social status or role. Inadvertent abandonment, desires to provide for spiritual beings, reuse, and ritual or functional disposal of goods or other materials also affect the appearance of the archeological record. Archeological deposits nevertheless generally represent remains of all site occupants rather than those of an articulate or favored few. As such, the archeological

record often can present a wider physically verifiable view of events than that represented in oral or written literature.

Excited by the possibilities offered by such deposits, investigators inspired by the "New Archaeology" of the 1960s turned their attention from constructing descriptive culture histories to developing explicitly testable scientific models capable of revealing and explaining cultural phenomena (Redman 1991). Today, nearly all archeologists continue to employ the explicitly scientific problem-oriented approaches advocated by New Archaeologists. Increasing numbers of post-modernist contextual archeologists are building from this tradition. Representing the most recent wave of revisionism, they deconstruct the work of their predecessors by stressing symbolic, political, gender, and other less tangible issues downplayed or ignored by their more materialist forebears. Like the New Archaeologists before them, post-modern contextualists stressing the social, political, and economic contexts of all intellectual enterprises are increasingly employing critical archeological frameworks to focus attention on women, Indians, African Americans, impoverished immigrants, and other people regarded as "disenfranchised, destroyed, encompassed, colonized, or silenced in some way" (Leone and Potter 1988). In the Northeast, archeologists concerned with elucidating aspects of domination and hegemony are reexamining what some call Indian burial programs and other hithertofore unrecognized or undervalued sources of evidence for Indian resistance to foreign intrusion (Gould and Rubertone 1991; Rubertone 1990).

No matter who they study or how they interpret their findings, scholars interested in contact increasingly are adopting interdisciplinary perspectives. Using a wide range of evidence, they are showing how Indian people struggled to maintain traditional ways of life as they found themselves progressively enmeshed within the emerging World-System (Wallerstein 1974; Wolf 1982). Much of this research is documenting Indian involvement in the region's growing cash economy as hunters, traders, guides, soldiers, herbalists, laborers, servants, millworkers, whalers, and artisans. Other studies are showing how Indian people produced wampum and other traditional manufactures for new commercial markets or peddled homemade splint baskets, straw brooms, beadwork, and other handicrafts modelled after European prototypes to settlers and each other. Existing records show that not all Indian labor was free. Indian people falling into debt often were forced into indentured servitude. Others apprenticed themselves to colonial masters. Both natives and newcomers often enslaved prisoners (Kawashima 1986 and 1988b; Lauber 1913; Starna and Watkins 1991).

Most slaves forced to work in the Northeast were African captives. Sold into slavery throughout the Atlantic seaboard, they came to represent already mentioned majorities around the Chesapeake and other areas farther south. More than 500,000 people of African American descent lived in the region in slavery and freedom by 1783. All but ignored by scholars for centuries, investigations inspired by the Civil Rights and Black Power movements during the 1960s began to focus attention upon the history of these people. Although many studies have since described many aspects of their contributions to American history, comparatively few have examined relations between African Americans and Indian people.

Gary B. Nash's "Red, White, and Black" (1982) continues to be one of the best general overviews of the subject. Other important general surveys have been written by Craven (1971), Ferguson (1992), Forbes (1988), Littlefield (1979), and Merrell (1984). Aspects of intermarriage, legal status, and labor in New England have been addressed (Greene 1942; Kawashima 1986; Piersen 1988; Woodson 1920). Reports on archeological investigations of properties associated with contact between African Americans and Indians, such as Kenneth Feder's excavations at the 18th-century multi-racial Lighthouse Site community (Feder and Parks 1989), are only now beginning to appear in print. Although these studies provide important new insights, much remains to be done to adequately document this crucial aspect of intercultural relations.

Perhaps the most striking finding to emerge from recent studies is the growing awareness that the circumstances of contact compelled both native people and newcomers to deal with one another as members of sovereign independent nations. On the face of it, this would seem to be an obvious fact. To Indian people long accustomed to coping with strangers, Europeans and Africans must have simply seemed to be other foreigners. Europeans formally refused to recognize the legitimacy of Indian governments. Colonists depending upon Indians for success or survival, on the other hand, often adopted more pragmatic attitudes. Acknowledging the realities of contact, colonial authorities everywhere dealt with powerful native nations as sovereign states throughout the colonial era.

Much contact scholarship reflects the European tendency to regard tribal people as passive reactors to dominant or domineering European invaders. That this is so should not be surprising; colonial conquest cant invariably characterizes Indians as subservient subject peoples. Actual relations between Indians and settlers in the Northeast were far more subtle and complex. Most Coastal Algonquian groups forced to submit to colonial authority by 1700, for example, found ways around colonists intent upon dominating their lives. People from unconquered communities, like those Iroquois belonging to the Anglo-Indian Covenant Chain alliance, rigorously pursued their own interests as independent and autonomous nations while perfunctorily pledging fealty to foreign sovereigns thousands of miles away.

Many Indian people continued to conduct relations with the new American government as sovereign powers after 1783. Federal authorities acceded to this state of affairs by according constitutionally-guaranteed special status to federally acknowledged Indian tribes. Today, the federal government maintains a government-to-government relationship with more than 100 Indian tribes. Although many aspects of this relationship's form and tenor have changed since the young American nation began to assert exclusive jurisdiction over Indian lands, people, and property, its constitutional basis has not changed over the course of the past two hundred years.

The following pages outline the earliest phases of this relationship. As mentioned earlier, historic contact was only one expression of a larger process that neither began in the region nor ended with the close of the colonial era. The earliest verifiable contacts between Indian

people, Europeans, and Africans within the territorial limits of the United States during modern times occurred farther south or north of the region. Although it has changed considerably in its particulars, contact continues between Indians and other Americans to the present day.

Contact experiences vary in relation to changing times, places, and circumstances. Despite this fact, all people experience contact in broadly similar ways. Earlier mentioned frameworks developed by Edward H. Spicer, Eleanor Burke Leacock, Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Edward M. Larrabee, and others have attempted to identify and explain the causes and consequences of common factors linking contact encounters between natives and newcomers throughout North America (Larrabee 1976; Leacock and Lurie 1988; Spicer 1961). This NHL theme study can be viewed as a set of contrastive case studies capable of assessing the validity of such general constructs. While findings presented in this document can help scholars and managers more fully understand factors involved in historic contact in the Northeast, they cannot by themselves validate or invalidate broader models of culture change. More general understandings can only be achieved by developing a comparative base of contemporary historic contact NHL theme studies from other regions in the United States.

HISTORIC CONTEXT ORGANIZATION

Information contained within this document follows the "Secretary of the Interior's Planning Standards" to (1) develop thematic study units delineating appropriate contextual relationships between properties and documentation, (2) formulate operating plans to manage resources identified and evaluated in study units, and (3) link these actions with broader planning processes. The "Secretary's Standards" require that all historic contexts contain the following elements:

(1) Theme
(2) Area
(3) Chronology
(4) Known and expected groups of related resources known as Property Types.
(5) Known and expected resource distribution.
(6) Evaluation criteria.
(7) Research needs and questions.
(8) Research bibliography.
(9) Planning goals and priorities.
(10) Historic context information integration into broader management processes.

THEME

First and foremost, historic contexts are systematized by unifying themes. Themes provide flexible frameworks for synthesizing large masses of often disparate data. The NHL thematic framework is the National Park Service's formal "comprehensive outline of United States history, prehistory, and cultural endeavor" (NPS 1987). This outline organizes information associated with existing NHLs and potential NHL properties into a vertically-ranked hierarchy of categories. At its highest level of abstraction, the framework identifies broad themes representing major trends in American history and culture. It then descends to finer levels of specificity by delineating sub-themes, facets, and sub-facets of more particular thematic, areal, or topical value.

Information organized by this outline "is used to show the extent to which units and cultural resources of the National Park System, affiliated areas, and National Historic Landmarks reflect the Nation's past" (NPS 1987). The NPS generally uses theme studies and other special studies to determine the extent and quality of thematic element representation. This theme study is devoted to NHL Theme I: Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations, Sub-Theme I.D.i: Ethnohistory of Northeastern Indigenous American - Populations. Using below listed thematic framework elements as analytic categories organizing information associated with major research needs and questions, this theme study reaffirms the utility of the NHL thematic framework as a means to more systematically use NHL evaluation criteria to determine a property's national significance.

> **PLEASE NOTE: As the official framework of the National Historic Landmark Survey, this outline represents the formal structure employed by the National Park Service to organize information associated with National Historic Landmarks and other units and affiliates in the National Park System. Conceived as a flexible structure responsive to change, this framework is not immutable. Theme studies resynthesizing existing data or developing new information sources frequently stimulate framework revisions. Such revisions are undertaken through special studies and other formal review processes and procedures requiring participation of federal and state agency personnel, the scholarly community, and the general public.**

The following NHL thematic framework elements are employed in this theme study:

Theme I:	Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations.
Sub-Theme I.D:	Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations.
Facet I.D.1:	Native Cultural Adaptations at Contact.

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i:	Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.
Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.g:	Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

AREA

Themes express regularities discerned in events occurring in particular areas. This theme study examines events that occurred in a 15 state area comprising the present northeastern quarter of the United States. This region is divided into three historic context regions. These regions, and their constituent states, are:

The North Atlantic Region:

Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
Northern New Jersey
Southeastern New York
Northeastern Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont

The Middle Atlantic Region:

Delaware
Eastern Maryland
Southern New Jersey
Southeastern Pennsylvania
Eastern Virginia
Northeastern West Virginia

The Trans-Appalachian Region:

Western Maryland
Eastern Ohio
Central Pennsylvania
North, Central, and Western New York
Western Vermont
Central and Western Virginia
Northwestern West Virginia

Each historic context regional area contains a number of component sub-regions. Each region and sub-region shares broadly similar geographic, sociocultural, and historical attributes.

While all properties nominated in this theme study are located in this area, many events associated with people associated with these properties or this place occurred elsewhere. Information associated with Late Ontario Iroquois Tradition sites and Huron or Neutral historic documentation in Canada, for example, is crucial to any understanding of events in more westerly reaches of Trans-Appalachia.

Although related events in other places are treated in this theme study, no properties located beyond the boundaries of the study area are inventoried or nominated. Contemporary properties in other parts of the United States may be considered in other regional historic contact theme studies. Canadian cultural resources cannot be included in this study. While National Park Service regulatory authority reaches beyond international borders to encompass embassy grounds and other properties under American jurisdiction in other countries, such authority does not extend to properties under foreign sovereignty.

Although most writers agree in principle that a Northeastern region exists, few agree on its boundaries or classify its' constituent geographic, historical, or cultural parts in the same way.

To minimize confusion, this study generally adapts generally accepted geographic boundaries, cultural divisions, and ethnic nomenclature standardized in the "Northeast" volume of the "Handbook of North American Indians" whenever possible (Trigger 1978a).

Even a framework as supple and inclusive as that used in the Northeast Handbook cannot answer all needs. Although its general parameters have been adopted, aspects of the Handbook's regional organization has been reworked to better reflect recent advances in knowledge and conform to theme study management considerations. Unlike the Handbook, which uses ethnic, linguistic, or cultural categories to organize data, this theme study uses a more dynamic areal approach emphasizing actions and relationships between different people in particular times and places.

The most notable change in Handbook boundaries concerns the volume's "Coastal Region." As defined in the Handbook, the Coastal Region encompasses the single largest collection of cultural resources associated with historic contact located anywhere in North America. Far too massive and diverse to be effectively treated as a single area, the region has been divided into two historic contexts for managerial purposes in this theme study. The northernmost of these, entitled the North Atlantic Region, is located within the NPS North Atlantic internal park region service area. This region includes culturally, linguistically, and historically related groups from New England, the Hudson River Valley, and the upper Delaware River drainage. Information associated with Coastal Algonquian people living farther south is organized within an area named after the NPS Mid-Atlantic internal park region serving the lower Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay drainages. Lower New York and Northern New Jersey generally are considered Middle Atlantic states. Despite this fact, most Indian people living in these places generally developed closer political, cultural, social, and technological, and economic connections with natives and newcomers to the north in New York and New England than with more southerly neighbors during historic contact times.

The Handbook categorizes all people living along Trans-Appalachian valleys from West Virginia to Quebec as inhabitants of a "Saint Lawrence Lowlands Region." As the Handbook's editor notes, all Indians native to this region spoke Northern Iroquoian languages. Only the northernmost of these Iroquoian nations lived within the St. Lawrence Valley, however. The rest resided near Algonquian or Siouian-speaking neighbors along rivers flowing west into the Mississippi Valley or east towards Atlantic shores. To complicate matters further, people from other places later moved into this region. Although most agreed to submit to some form of Iroquois authority prior to their moves, few spoke Iroquoian languages themselves. In light of this information, this area is termed the "Trans-Appalachian Region" in this theme study.

Like all boundaries, those used in this theme study reflect a series of compromises. Every effort has been made to accommodate the wide variety of opinions and viewpoints expressed by regional scholars and cultural resource managers. Because these views are constantly

changing, these boundaries should be viewed as provisional constructs. Borders shift with time, changing political fortunes and customs, and differing perceptions. As anthropologist Jack Campisi has shown among the Oneidas, social, religious, and political boundaries frequently are neither universally shared nor accepted by a community or its neighbors (Campisi 1974).

Members of Iroquois Confederacy, for example, generally maintained an image stressing high political boundaries between themselves and others. Recent scholarship has shown that the force and form of these boundaries shifted over time. Historic documents corroborate more recent oral traditions affirming that particular Iroquois nations, communities, or factions sometimes formed close relationships with non-Iroquois people or acted independently. Similar incised pottery motifs used by Mohawks and their more easterly Algonquian-speaking neighbors, for example, may reflect the historically documented Mohawk tendency to pursue their own interests in relations with Indians and Europeans along the Hudson River Valley.

The extant evidence sometimes obscures boundaries. Most 18th-century Iroquois site assemblages containing large amounts of European materials, for instance, are very nearly indistinguishable from those left by non-Iroquois Indians or settlers. Networks connecting families, friends, and strangers from different communities frequently blur boundary distinctions. Travel, migration, and population dislocation caused by changing economic patterns, warfare, land loss, and other factors also affect material and conceptual expressions of group identity and socio-political boundary.

These conditions affected all people living in the Northeast. Established by charter or decree in Europe, many colonial provincial boundaries reflected incomplete or inaccurate knowledge of the region's geography. Other documents, such as Virginian, Massachusetts, and Connecticut charters granting extravagant domains stretching from sea to sea, reflected unrealistic expectations.

Settlers frequently worked to embroil Indian people in their boundary disputes. Most provincial authorities tried to secure land claims by relentlessly working to bend Indian people to their wills. Some Indian people gave in to these pressures and became clients or wards of particular colonies. Others resisted or moved elsewhere. Virtually all Northeastern Indian people choosing to remain in the region ultimately were forced to place their lands and lives under some degree of foreign control by the end of the War for Independence in 1783. Despite this fact, Indian concepts of boundaries almost never entirely conformed to those held by colonists. Working to exploit boundary disputes whenever possible in order to protect their own interests, Indian people often cultivated alliances with different and sometimes mutually hostile natives and newcomers.

Many Indian people, such as the Iroquois and their Algonquian clients, closely aligned themselves with particular European nations, provincial governments, or interest groups.

People living in the northernmost Munsee communities, for example, closely affiliated themselves with New Yorkers claiming sovereignty over their lands. Farther south, other Munsee people formed alliances with the New Jersey and Pennsylvania governments. Those living in New Jersey sometimes were referred to in colonial documents as Jersey Indians while Munsees living farther north came to be called New York Indians.

Most northerly Munsees forced from their homelands gradually joined Mahicans and New England Indian communities. Those living farther south generally affiliated themselves with Delaware Indian people. Today, most people tracing Munsee descent live in exile in Ontario, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma. Decades of separation have taken their toll on these people. Although most Munsees and Delawares recognize their common origins, few presently regard themselves as a single nation. While most descendants of New York Indians generally acknowledge their Munsee ancestry, most people tracing descent to the more southerly branches of their family tree regard themselves as Delawares.

Temporal and spatial distance does not always sunder tribal ties. Mohawk people living in what is today New York and Quebec, for example, are citizens of different nations. Despite this fact, most Mohawks continue to regard themselves as a single people.

These are only a few of the many examples illustrating the extraordinary range of territorial diversity expressed by the native inhabitants of this region. Collectively, they present an almost kaleidoscopic network of divergent borders, changing political forms, and shifting alliances. In an effort to best reflect the complexity of this framework, this theme study employs a geographic framework emphasizing dynamic relations between different people in particular areas rather than the more static and widely used classificatory approach stressing ethnic or political boundary maintenance.

CHRONOLOGY

Types of Time

"Time," in the words of an anonymous Alaskan Eskimo graffiti artist, "is what keeps everything from happening at once." Concepts of time, and chronologies based on such ideas, vary from culture to culture (Whitrow 1988). Some people believe that history is an orderly and inevitable process. Others, envisioning the universe as an arbitrary disorderly place, think of history as a series of random and unique events.

Whatever their philosophy of history, all people recognize cyclic and linear aspects of time (Eliade 1959). Cyclic time expresses repetitive, unchanging rhythms such as the passing of seasons or the timing of religious festivals. Linear time, on the other hand, associates specific dates with particular points of time occurring on linear continua.

Every society mixes cyclic and linear time. None, however, combines them in quite the same way. Traditional societies honoring the ways of ancestors, like those of Northeastern Indians during historic contact times, tend to emphasize cyclic aspects of time. Industrial states requiring careful coordination of vast disparate populations and systems, like modern American society, generally organize time in more linear ways.

Different types of historic records reflect different concepts of time. Some oral texts, such as sagas and epics, for example, may order events within linear continua. People recollecting oral tradition, by contrast, generally stress cyclic aspects of time. Written records, for their part, can emphasize either or both types of time. People writing memoirs and other accounts meant to provide object lessons or moral guidance often recount and interpret events cyclically. Other writers setting down journal entries, court proceedings, or treaty minutes, almost exclusively express themselves in linear time. No matter how carefully writers work to anchor dated events firmly to specific points of time, few can prevent speculations, interpretations, and other non-linear inferences from creeping into the record.

Archeologists, by contrast, generally regard their data as frozen moments in time. Although processual inferences stressing such cyclic notions as normative laws or evolutionary development can be derived from archeological remains, most archeologists regard deposits as remains of discrete dated events.

People tend to organize time in ways reflecting the temporal emphases of their subject matter. Keepers and students of oral traditions, for example, generally emphasize cyclic aspects of history. Historians using written documents and ethnologists analyzing field data tend to mix aspects of linear and cyclic time. Archeologists emphasizing the linear nature of time, for their part, regard chronological ordering of discrete events as the necessary first step for all analysis.

Scholars usually view linear time in two ways. Absolute dates express time as specific units of measurement such as days, weeks, or years within a chronological framework. Relative dates, in contrast, express free-floating temporal relationships such as older or younger. As such, relative dating sequences require radiocarbon or other absolute dates to anchor them into linear chronological frameworks. Investigators studying historic contact in the Northeast use a wide range of absolute and relative dating techniques. Excellent descriptions of many of these techniques may be found in current anthropology and archeology textbooks (Haviland 1988; D. Thomas 1989). Although radiocarbon and document-verified terminus post quem (TPQ) dating continue to be the most widely used of these techniques, new advances in tree-ring dating techniques hold much promise for future use in the region (Stahle and Wolfman 1985).

Chronologies and other temporal information presented in this theme study stress linear aspects of time. Although materials contained in this document may illuminate events in other times and places, particular data and findings developed in this document directly bear

upon events and properties dating to the first three centuries of contact during the modern era in the Northeast. This period began to the north of the United States with the first known modern voyages of Europeans to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence undertaken during the last decade of the 1400s. Commencing in the United States with the first documented contacts between Indian people and the crew of Giovanni da Verrazzano's ship in 1524, the period ended in most areas of the region in 1783 when the newly independent United States began to dramatically restructure relationships with Indian people.

Scholars generally divide cultural developments dating to this era into periods of prehistory, protohistory, and history. Use of these terms has stimulated a great deal of heated discussion in recent years. Many writers assert that this system demeans people by implying that those living in prehistoric or protohistoric times either have no history or possess a past that cannot be understood through the same scientific standards used to understand other people's histories (Axtell 1989). Few scholars using these terms would agree with this assessment. Instead, most scholars use these terms to systematically organize the fragmentary and often inconsistent material, documentary, and oral record of Northeastern North American culture history into a single coherent framework by differentiating distinct types of evidence.

Prehistory generally is regarded as the period in which archeological materials and, to a lesser extent, oral accounts are the only known evidence. Protohistory represents the interval between the first archeologically or orally documented contacts between natives and newcomers and the first appearance of written records of these encounters. History reflects the availability of written, archeological, and oral records of contact relationships. History associated with Indians or other people producing little or no written record of themselves often is called ethnohistory.

Northeast Historic Contact Time Frameworks

Most scholars agree that historic contact in the Northeast spans the protohistoric and historic periods between the first encounters of natives and newcomers during the early 1500s and the final subjugation or expulsion of most of the region's native people by the end of the War of Independence. At the time of this writing, eight states within the National Park Service Mid-Atlantic internal program service region have developed historic context planning frameworks placing historic contact within chronological continua. These states, and their historic contact frameworks are:

Delaware:	1500-present (Custer 1986).
Massachusetts:	1500-1775 (Bradley, ed. 1984).
New Jersey:	1500-1800 (L. Williams and Kardas 1982).
Ohio:	1600-1750 (Brose 1985).
Pennsylvania:	1600-present (Raber 1985).

Vermont:	1607-1767 (A. Dowd 1990).
Virginia:	1607-1750 (VDHR 1991).
West Virginia:	1050-1690 (Graybill 1986).

As with other aspects of contact, these frameworks reflect the already noted fact that few regional specialists exactly agree on chronological specifics. Despite their differences, most would support the idea that historic contact neither began nor ended at the same time everywhere in the region. In the North Atlantic and Middle Atlantic regions, for example, most scholars think that contact began during the first decades of the 16th-century. Farther west in Trans-Appalachia, most scholars believe that the earliest phases of contact began and ended somewhat later. No matter when it began, most scholars would agree that contact affected different communities in different ways at different times.

These complexities make it difficult to clearly define broad patterns of contact, identify causes and consequences of culture change and stability, or organize time into discrete phases or periods. Patterns of local and regional culture change and continuity are complex. Many frequently are incompletely documented. Available documentary, oral, and archeological information often is fragmentary, contradictory, or inconsistent. Because of these and other factors, existing chronological frameworks continue to exhibit wide ranges of variation. Oral and documentary evidence indicates that people belonging to Indian communities also used frameworks of their own to organize and understand contact events. Of the few recorded by scholars, most generally emphasize cyclic aspects of time.

The Iroquois League historical framework recorded by William Fenton is one of the few Indian chronologies organizing time along more linear lines. Noting that many traditional "Iroquois annalists periodize their culture history by the achievements of prophets," Fenton writes that the earliest phase of Iroquois history is associated with the culture hero "Sapling," known as "He Who Grasps the Sky," or "Sky Grasper." The period of the confederacy is marked by the advent of its founder, Deganawidah. More recent history is known as the time following the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake's resynthesis of the traditional Longhouse Religion during the late 1700s or early 1800s (Fenton, 1988).

Most tribal and regional chronological frameworks used by scholars have been developed by archeologists or ethnohistorians. Archeologist James W. Bradley, for example, divides the contact era in Massachusetts into three periods (J. Bradley 1984):

The Contact Period (1500-1630).
The Plantation Period (1630-1675).
The Colonial Period (1675-1775).

Other scholars having access to more complete bodies of data often construct more tightly defined chronologies. Archeologist Barry C. Kent, for example, has formulated the following 10-stage culture history framework to organize information drawn from such excavated

historic lower Susquehanna Valley Susquehannock towns as the Schultz, Strickler, and nominated Byrd Leibhart sites (Kent 1984):

1. Common roots with the Iroquois	-1450
2. Proto-Susquehannock	1450-1525
3. Early Schultz and migration	1525-1575
4. Schultz	1575-1600
5. Washington Boro	1600-1625
6. Transitional-Billmyer and Roberts	1625-1645
7. Strickler	1645-1665
8. Leibhart-defeat and turmoil	1665-1680
9. The void [no known information]	1680-1690
10. Conestoga and the other Indians	1690-1763

Many scholars primarily rely upon documentary sources. Fenton, for example, largely used written materials to organize the culture history of the Iroquois League of Five (later Six) Nations into the following five stages (Fenton 1988):

The Era of the Formation of the League (ca. 1450-1600).
The Impact of Colonial Civilization: The 17th-century.
Forest Diplomacy (1701-1776).
The American Revolution (1774-1783).
The Reservation Period (1784-1967).

Working with similar records, anthropologist Theodore J.C. Brasser has developed the following Coastal Algonquian historic contact period chronology (Brasser 1988):

First Contact: The Traders Phase ca. 1550-1700.
The Shrinking of a World: The Settlers Phase ca. 1620-1700.
Behind the Frontier: The Integrative Phase ca. 1650-1800.

These frameworks closely reflect developments associated with particular areas or cultures. Interested in developing more comprehensive regional chronologies necessary for broader comparative analyses, anthropologists Nancy Oestreich Lurie and the late Eleanor Burke Leacock combined Coastal Algonquian and Iroquoian chronologies with others to produce the following temporal thematic arrangement (Leacock and Lurie 1988):

Phase I:	Late Precontact
	Coastal Algonquian, 1500-1524
	Iroquois, 1500-1535
Phase II:	Early Contact
	Coastal Algonquian, 1524-1740
	Iroquois, 1535-1740

Phase III:	Competition and Conflict
	Coastal Algonquian, 1637-1740
	Iroquois, 1740-1800
Phase IV:	Administrative Stabilization
	Coastal Algonquian, 1740-present
	Iroquois, 1800-present

These are only a few of the many documented chronologies constructed in the colonial Northeast. Together, their range and diversity is as much a function of the period's social and cultural complexity as it is a reflection of divergent methods, conflicting theoretical orientations, and diverse and often contradictory source materials.

Investigators interested in understanding the complexities of culture change and continuity in the Northeast face challenges similar to those confronted by archeologists compelled to deal with highly complex or ambiguously delineated strata. Both frequently solve such problems by excavating data in arbitrary levels. Just as archeologists often try to dig in six inch increments, data presented in this document are organized into arbitrary 100-year chronological "strata." Each stratum generally reflects regional chronological developments. Tighter temporal controls are employed whenever possible.

Historic contexts for the North Atlantic, Middle Atlantic, and Trans-Appalachian Regions are developed in the following pages. Each presents overviews of archeological, documentary, oral, and other material needed to identify, evaluate, nominate, and treat properties in these regions as National Historic Landmarks. Lists of inventoried properties appear at the end of all sub-regional summaries in each historic context statement. A total of 846 sites and districts containing resources primarily associated with Historic Contact Period Indian communities are listed in these inventories. Another 77 properties represent forts, trading posts, or other resources primarily associated with colonists. These figures represent only a fraction of the total possible number of properties in both categories. Cartographic studies, such as Helen Tanner's "Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History" (Tanner 1987), Tony Campbell's (1965) study of the Jansson-Visscher Maps of New England (commonly known as the van der Donck or Nova Belgii maps), Ben C. McCary and Norman F. Barka's analysis of Virginian Indian settlement locations on the John Smith and Zuniga maps (McCary and Barka 1977), and Barry Kent, Janet Rice, and Kakuko Ota's survey, "A Map of 18th Century Indian Towns in Pennsylvania" (Kent, Rice, and Ota 1981), show that Europeans documented thousands of Indian communities during early stages of historic contact in the region. Locations of thousands of others are uninventoried or unrecorded. Archeologists believe that more than a few sites, both chronicled and unchronicled, remain to be found. Large numbers, however, almost surely have already disappeared without a trace.

Only properties known to contain tangible deposits dating to the first three centuries of contact in the Northeast are included in inventory listings in this document. Such properties must contain radiometrically datable deposits, clearly sealed stratigraphic deposits, or mixed

assemblages of Indian and European materials dating to protohistoric or historic times in clear association. Inventory listings include properties presently known to exist and since-destroyed archeological locales documented by professional investigators, avocationalists, or local historians.

Although every effort has been made to compile a complete inventory of archeological sites associated with historic contact in the Northeast, many known properties are not listed in this theme study. Some are not listed because archeologists have not yet fully verified their age, affiliation, or presence. Others do not appear because their documentation is located in unindexed, misfiled, or otherwise inaccessible inventory folders, card files, or computerized databases.

INVENTORY LISTING KEY

Site Name

Historic property names used to identify resources in the National Register of Historic Places, state registers, and other federal, state, or professional listings, surveys, and inventories are employed whenever known. Modern orthographies and site name variants also are noted wherever appropriate. Site numbers are included whenever possible.

NHL Designation Status

Bold-Face and Underlined	Properties nominated for NHL designation in this theme study.
Bold-Face	Existing NHLs.
Regular Type	Other properties.

Location

In order to safeguard the security of archeological sites, exact information delineating property locations is not provided. Physical features capable of revealing site locations, such as rivers, roads, or contour lines, have been removed from all maps and other representations of archeological deposits. Inventory location listings only note state and county or municipality.

Date

Dates presented in each inventory listing have been drawn from the most authoritative available sources. Although archeologists have worked hard to establish accurate chronologies and dating systems, few exactly dated deposits associated with historic contact

have been found in the Northeast. Most dates represent "guesstimates" or approximations. The majority are TPQ (terminus post quem) determinations reflecting the earliest possible appearance of a particular diagnostic artifact. Radiometric dates are listed as cited in original sources. Calibrated dates are noted where known. Terms such as historic, contact, and protohistoric reflect those appearing in original inventory records.

National Register Status

Properties marked with a X in this column are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. All others are unmarked.

Condition

Information relating to property condition appears in this column. Most condition assessments reflect data appearing in site forms and other information on file in SHPOs or State Archeology offices. Most condition assessments are many years old. Archeologists, moreover, rarely use the same assessment criteria or assess site condition at the same time. A site regarded as disturbed by one archeologist, for example, may be thought to be in excellent condition by another. New excavations may reveal archeological potential in sites thought to have been destroyed. As a result of these and other factors, condition assessments should be regarded as provisional. Whatever their source, new condition assessments should be undertaken prior to any action affecting archeological properties.

Condition Abbreviations:

dest	destroyed
dist	disturbed
good	good
excel	excellent
unk	unknown

Source

All cited sources are listed in the bibliography in Section H.

HISTORIC CONTEXT: HISTORIC CONTACT BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION, 1524-1783

OVERVIEW

The North Atlantic region extends across New England from Maine west to Lake Champlain, the Hudson River valley, and upper Delaware River drainage. At the time of contact, most people living in this region spoke closely related Eastern Algonquian languages and followed Late Woodland lifeways. Generally using materials close at hand, most made and exchanged stylistically similar collared and uncollared pottery, used similar types of tools and weapons, and lived in grass or bark-covered dome-shaped or conical wigwams or rectangular longhouses.

Contact with Basque, English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese mariners sailing to North Atlantic shores during the 1500s led to economic, political, and social changes. Change rates intensified as Europeans began to settle permanently in the region. By 1650, French, English, and Dutch colonists established themselves on or near Indian communities throughout the coast. Trading with settlers, Indians struggled to adapt old ways to new situations while reconciling new things and ideas with old traditions. Indian people throughout the region worked to creatively respond to challenges posed by economic and political shifts, demographic upheavals, land loss, and other changes. In the midst of this struggle, disease and war killed thousands of Indian people. Although many survivors stayed in the region, large numbers moved to Acadia or Quebec. Others moved west to the Susquehanna and Ohio countries. Some of these people never returned. Others periodically came back to their North Atlantic homes.

Conditions everywhere in the region changed drastically by the early 1700s. Indian people living near European settlements along coast generally were more deeply affected than those living farther inland. Those continuing to live along the coast were increasingly compelled to submit to some form of colonial supervision in reservations or mission communities. Others refusing to submit to foreign rule moved to more northerly portions of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont along the frontier between New France, New England, and New York where they tried to live more independent lives. Such places became harder to find as the 18th-century wore on. People moving north or west found themselves living in places where Britain, France, and the Iroquois vied for control over their lands and lives. Unable to find peace and security in such places, many North Atlantic people returned home to settlements on the northernmost frontiers of the region. Some of these people joined friends and kinfolk in reservations or missions. Others moved to remote mountainous, swampy, or sand barren tracts generally unwanted by colonists where they managed to live autonomously up to the War of Independence.

The North Atlantic region includes:

Connecticut
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
Northern New Jersey
Southeastern New York
Northeastern Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont

The Sixteenth Century

Although particular conditions and traditions differed from north to south and between coastal and interior locales, archeological, documentary, and other sources indicate that all Indian people living within the North Atlantic region of the United States at the time of initial contact during the early 1500s generally followed similar ways of life based upon hunting, fishing, and collection of wild plants and other materials. Food generally was produced in areas favorable to cultivation. As elsewhere in the Northeast, corn, beans, squash, and tobacco were staple crops wherever food was grown.

Available archeological data support early written accounts indicating that most North Atlantic Indian people organized their social and political lives around groups of families and friends. Aided by councils of elders and accomplished men and women, North Atlantic leaders worked to achieve consensus among followers. People unwilling to go along with decisions generally moved elsewhere. Leaders attracted followers by skillfully manipulated factions and meeting the needs of interest groups. The more successful of these leaders built up large followings among people from many communities. Although some of these coalitions outlived their founders, most disbanded as members left to follow newer or more effective leaders.

Like people everywhere, Northeastern Indians employed marriage ties, friendship, and other relationships to recruit new members, increase the range and effectiveness of their networks, and exchange goods and ideas. People traveled from place to place within this circle of kinsfolk, friends, and associates as changing climatic, economic, social, and political conditions allowed.

More than three centuries of linguistic research, first conducted during the 1630s and 1640s by men such as Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island and the Puritan missionary John Eliot, indicates that all native people living in the North Atlantic region during the historic contact period probably spoke Eastern Algonquian languages (Goddard 1978a; Goddard and Bragdon 1988; R. Williams 1973). Archeological evidence indicates that many lifeways of people speaking these languages developed from earlier cultural traditions first appearing in the region sometime around five to six hundred years ago. These traditions, comprising what archeologists call terminal Late Woodland culture, centered around a

technology based upon raw materials of stone, clay, shell, bone, antler, wood, sinew, and skin. North Atlantic terminal Late Woodland people used a wide range of stylistically similar chipped and pecked stone implements. Most crafted chipped stone triangular projectile points made from locally available materials. People living along the southern New England coast also continued to use narrow stemmed points made from quartz or other stones. Farther north, Indian people in Maine also crafted stemmed projectile points and knives.

Although groups living in more northerly portions of Maine abandoned pottery production just before 1600, all North Atlantic people living within the present borders of the United States were making and using different types of clay pots during terminal Late Woodland times (Petersen and Sanger 1989). Clay pots and other existing archeological data presently provide only equivocal indications of Indian ethnicity, linguistic affiliations, or economic relationships. As a result, archeologists using particular styles or types of ceramics as ethnicity indicators often can be mislead. Puritan colonist William Wood, for example, wrote in 1634 that Massachusetts Indians frequently obtained pots from Narragansetts (W. Wood 1634). Archeologists have found incised collared ceramics generally associated with Mohawk or St. Lawrence Iroquoian people in terminal Late Woodland period deposits across the region from Maine to the upper Delaware River valley (Brumbach 1975; Cowie and Petersen 1992; Johnson and Bradley 1987; Kraft 1975b; Petersen 1989; Petersen and Sanger 1989). These findings do not mean that Mohawks or St. Lawrence Iroquoians lived in or controlled the region. Archeologist Hetty Jo Brumbach, for example, was unable to detect statistically significant stylistic differences in pottery found in historically documented Mohawk and Mahican sites (Brumbach 1975). Findings of similar ceramic complexes in two locales indicate that people speaking different languages and belonging to different political and social groups often made or used similar types of pottery. Discoveries of small numbers of "Iroquoian" pots in historically chronicled Algonquian territories, for their part, may represent evidence of visits, marriage contacts, or the presence of captives or refugees.

New findings are sharpening our understandings of relationships between Indian people in this region. Archeologist Joseph E. Diamond, for example, has found that pots incised with distinctive "ladder" motifs on their collars are frequently found in sites in and around the lower reaches of the Esopus River in the mid-Hudson Valley (Diamond 1991). Brumbach and Bender have found pottery with similar motifs along the upper Hudson and in some Mohawk Valley ceramic assemblages (Bender and Brumbach 1992). Other archeologists are exploring chemical approaches analyzing pottery clays or assessing distributional frequencies of clay smoking pipes and other artifacts to discover new indications of ethnic identity and intergroup relations (Kuhn 1985; Snow 1980).

North Atlantic native people living around the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence were among the first Indians to encounter newcomers. The earliest of these meetings occurred in Newfoundland latitudes far north of the present international boundary. Norse voyagers are known to have traveled to these more northerly latitudes some 1,000 years ago. Basque,

Breton, and Norman sailors were fishing off Newfoundland Banks when Giovanni Caboto, an Italian in English employ more commonly known as John Cabot, made the first recorded European visit to these latitudes in more recent times while searching for a western route to China in 1497. Although other mariners are known to have followed these voyagers, documents recording Giovanni da Verrazzano's landfalls on Atlantic shores in 1524 remains the earliest recorded instance of a European visit to parts of the region within the United States.

Other Europeans soon followed Verrazzano in search of a western route to the Indies. Failing to find their Northwest Passage, sailors aboard most of English, French, Basque, Spanish, and Portuguese ships known to have made landfalls from Newfoundland to Virginia during the 16th-century instead searched for fish, pelts, gold, and slaves to take back to Europe. These voyages marked the beginning of more or less regular direct contact between both peoples in the region. Most of the small number of glass beads and other scanty evidences of contact found in 16th-century Indian archeological sites in the region probably came from contacts with these early visitors. Other materials may have come from the south by way of Indians in contact with Englishmen, Spaniards, and other Europeans sailing north from Florida or the Caribbean.

Most documents written by early European visitors are little more than sketchy reports of brief encounters. Other documentation consists of generally unattributed map references on 16th-century globes, atlas, or maps. None of these sources contain extensively detailed data on Indian people. Only a few mention Indian individuals by name, and virtually none identify communities or polities. Collectively, surviving documentary materials furnish only the most impressionistic glimpses of Indian life during the 1500s. Published translated and transcribed versions of much of this documentation may be seen in Quinn (1977 and 1981) and Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier (1979).

Extant native oral traditions describing initial contacts, for their part, tend to reveal more about what later Indians felt about newcomers than about contact events themselves. Relatively few known accounts exactly date or precisely locate events dating to the 16th-century. Several of the many texts recounting Indian reactions to early European visitors are published in Calloway (1991), Morrison (1984), and Simmons (1986).

Archeologists familiar with the equivocal nature of available 16th-century written and oral sources, such as the late Lynn Ceci, whose studies illuminated aspects of Long Island Indian socio-economic life and Dean Snow, who has conducted detailed inquiries into Maine Indian ecological adaptations, tend to use the direct historical approach and middle range theory to correlate sites and site functions with historically chronicled people and practices (Ceci 1977; Snow 1978a and 1980). Although these and other studies have succeeded in shedding new light on the subject, archeological resources for the most part continue to provide only marginally more informative material than written and oral sources.

Several factors account for this state of affairs. Most known sites have been destroyed or substantially disturbed. Much of what is known has been salvaged from threatened locales. Although many professional and avocational archeologists have systematically surveyed many properties, much recovered information remains scattered, unanalyzed, and unpublished. Many scholars are working to gather together and study large bodies of material. Not all are eager to widely publish their findings, however. Archeologists anxious to discourage looters pillaging sites in western Massachusetts, for example, frequently refrain from publishing any information of potential use to pothunters (Dincauze 1991).

Despite this situation, many important new discoveries are being made by archeologists dedicated to preserving the past. The completely excavated Wyncoop Farm/Grapes site in the Hurley Flats Complex in Marbletown, New York, for example, contains the remains of a single longhouse occupied by people who lived in the historically chronicled heart of the Esopus Indian homeland during the late 1500s. Farther east, uniquely intact and extensive radiocarbon-dated deposits within the nominated Nauset district in the Cape Cod National Seashore preserve an important record of protohistoric Coastal Algonquian Indian life.

Settlement patterns identified at these and other known protohistoric sites confirm written accounts recording that the region's Indian people generally lived in small decentralized settlements. European materials found at such sites usually consist of little more than a few glass beads, some metal hoops or spirals, or scraps of brass, copper, and iron. Most such material is found in mortuary contexts. The small number of these artifacts and their location in graves suggests that European technology did not substantially affect most aspects of daily life in the region during protohistoric times. Evidence of more intensive contact in the form of brass, copper, or iron kettles, firearms, and other materials, does not appear in most areas of the region until the middle decades of the next century.

The Seventeenth Century

Indian life throughout the region was irrevocably transformed during the 1600s. Indian people only dimly aware of Europeans in 1600 were forced to contend with new neighbors, tools, and ideas as wars, disease, and dispossession devastated their towns. So far-reaching were the changes brought on by these events that many scholars categorize the years following intensive colonization as post-contact plantation or colonization phases (Bradley 1984; Brasser 1988).

Sustained contacts between North Atlantic Indian people and newcomers began when traders established posts and forts at favorable locations on the coast and along navigable rivers during the first decades of the 17th-century. To the north, French explorers established small settlements around the Gulf of Maine as early as 1604. More extensive settlements subsequently were built along the St. Lawrence River.

Farther south, English colonists erected their first abortive settlements along a portion of North Atlantic coastline known as Norumbega about the same time the first French settlers moved into the region. Renamed New England by Captain John Smith, this area subsequently was more thickly settled by Puritans and other English dissenters moving to Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth during the 1620s and 1630s. Establishing themselves along the coast, English settlers began moving into the Connecticut River valley by the 1640s.

Dutch West India Company officials settled colonists from many northern European countries along the Hudson River as English settlers struggled to establish themselves on New England shores. Their colony, which stretched from the Connecticut River valley to Delaware Bay, was known as New Netherland. Portions of New Netherland located in the North Atlantic region were renamed New York and New Jersey when English troops conquered the colony in 1664.

Although England claimed dominion over the whole of the North Atlantic coast after defeating the Dutch, English colonists were not able to secure complete control over the region. During the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1673, a Dutch fleet easily recaptured New York. Holding the province for nearly a year, the Dutch surrendered the place for the last time under the terms of the Treaty of Westminster ending the conflict in 1674.

Warfare continued to rage across the Kennebec-Penobscot frontier in Maine as New Englanders and their Indian allies battled French Acadian settlers and their Indian allies. Farther west, columns of French soldiers and Indian warriors struck out from New France to attack English outposts in the northern parts of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts during the first of four imperial wars fought between France and Great Britain for control of the region between 1689 and 1762.

Recurring epidemics of smallpox, measles, and other diseases devastated tribes throughout the region as conflicts with colonists and other Indians killed thousands and depopulated entire areas. Hundreds of settlers and as many as 1,000 Munsee people may have been killed during Governor Kieft's war in New Netherland between 1640 and 1645 (Trelease 1960). Thousands of other people were killed or driven from their homes in other colonial wars such as the Pequot War of 1637 and the more cataclysmic struggle known today as King Philip's War (after the Wampanoag sachem Metacomet or Matacam known by this name among the English) from 1675 to 1677 (Baker 1986; Jennings 1975; Leach 1958; Vaughan 1979).

Europeans relentlessly pressed Indians surviving these and other disasters to convey title to their lands. While many Indian people tried to prevent colonists from taking their land, nearly all had to sell or see their lands seized forcibly. Some people managed to slow the pace and extent of colonial expansion into their territories. Despite these efforts, Europeans managed to obtain title to much of the most desirable coastal land in the region by 1700 (Baker 1989; Grumet 1979; Jennings 1975). Demoralized by the loss of land and loved ones,

many Indians began to drink heavily. Taking on the characteristics of an epidemic by the end of the century, alcohol abuse devastated families and ravaged entire communities already reeling from the effects of war, disease, divisiveness, and other problems.

Indian people struggled to respond to these challenges. Many moved to new places. Other explored new ways of living. Old back country Indian towns far from colonial settlements like Norridgewock and Minisink were renovated and reoccupied. New towns were built. Other Indian people left the region and moved north to the St. Lawrence or west towards the Susquehanna or Ohio country. Most people remaining on ancestral lands moved to remote areas unwanted by colonists. Others settled in Christian mission towns. Still others moved onto small reservations set aside by provincial authorities. Indian people living on land designated by colonial officials as the Narragansett reservation in Charlestown, Rhode Island and the Mashantucket Pequot reservation in Ledyard, Connecticut, managed to hold onto some of their land. More independent people unwilling to be confined to reservations or missions, such as Vermont's Western Abenakis, increasingly settled along uncolonized borderlands separating contending provinces and colonial powers.

Archeological evidence indicates that Indian people in many parts of the region began to build larger and more compact settlements during the 1600s. These patterns may reflect movements of large numbers of native people into smaller communities. They also may represent demographic recoveries of populations rebounding from effects of earlier epidemics. Whatever the cause for their appearance, archeologists have found that many of these sites contain unprecedentedly large or diverse assemblages of European goods. Although many of these goods have been found in mortuary contexts, excavators working at Mashantucket, Fort Shantok, and other places increasingly have recovered such goods from pits, midden layers, and other features associated with everyday life.

Archeological work at these sites also shows that many Indian people only gradually abandoned traditional aboriginal tools and weapons as the century wore on. Many Indian musketeers, for instance, continued to use domestically produced bows and arrows. While some technologies were abandoned, others were renewed or reinforced. Metal tools often proved useful to wood carvers, cooks, and others. Metal arrowheads came to replace projectile points crafted from stone or antler tines.

European demand also stimulated production of traditional Indian products. Although Indians often were barred from the wage-labor economy, more than a few found ways to exploit new commercial opportunities. Many Indian people responded to new market conditions by producing traditional wooden bowls, moccasins, and snowshoes and newer forms of splint baskets and straw, brush, or birch splint brooms for export. Others produced herbal remedies and other pharmaceuticals popular with colonists. Sold or traded to colonists, such products brought goods and capital to Indian communities otherwise isolated from the larger colonial economy. Artifact assemblages dominated by European imports

found in many archeological deposits suggest that many Indians increasingly participated in regional colonial economic life by the end of the 1600s.

Native North Atlantic groups and people living in what is now the United States were first identified by name in European documents during the first decade of the century. A wide range of archeological, linguistic, ethnographic, and documentary sources indicate that differences in language, social organization, political affiliation, custom, and belief distinguished Coastal Algonquian people and groups from one another. Despite these differences, these same sources also reveal that most shared significant cultural and historical similarities.

Differential preservation and ambiguities inherent in all archeological deposits prevent investigators from conclusively identifying similarities and differences in known sites in the region. As mentioned earlier, specific pottery styles or archeological assemblages have not yet been confidently linked to particular historically documented North Atlantic native communities. Scholars accordingly must rely upon written sources to link particular societies or communities with specific locales.

Most documentary sources indicate that nearly all Indian people in the region followed ways of life based on cultural patterns first established more than 500 years earlier. Even the most northerly communities in the region, for example, produced or traded for corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. Hunting, fishing, and collecting supplemented rather than dominated the diets of most 17th-century North Atlantic Indian people (Salisbury 1982a **contra** M.K. Bennett 1955; Silver 1981 **contra** Ceci 1980).

Early 17th-century Indian settlements generally ranged from small camps to large dispersed communities of longhouses or round or conical wigwams. Larger settlements sometimes were fortified or situated near fortified enclosures. By the end of the century, most North Atlantic Indian people lived in small towns or dispersed hamlets. Many Indians remaining along the coast resided in reservations or missions. Although increasing numbers of native people began moving into log or frame buildings similar to those constructed by newcomers, most Indians continued to live in traditional bark or grass-mat covered sapling-framed houses throughout the 1600s.

Available evidence indicates that these and other protohistoric North Atlantic lifeways persisted in most Indian communities well into the century. Archeological assemblages containing small amounts of European goods mixed together with substantial bodies of aboriginally produced materials generally suggest continuity rather than change. Historic Dutch, English, and French records, for their part, generally corroborate these findings. Although European diseases ravaged many Indian communities, the less than 1,000 newcomers who lived year-round in outposts scattered along the North Atlantic seaboard evidently made little direct impact on native life before 1630.

Although colonists constantly wrote about settling on virgin or uninhabited land, in reality they moved to often heavily populated places. Although early investigators given to minimizing Indian populations suggested figures as low as 25,000 (Mooney 1928), more recent scholars favoring larger estimates have proposed figures ranging from 60,000 to as much as 150,000 (S.F. Cook 1976; Jennings 1975; Salisbury 1982a).

Whatever their actual number, Indian populations throughout the region declined disastrously during the 17th-century. The first recorded pandemic may have killed as many as 90% of all Indian people living from Cape Cod to Penobscot country in Maine between 1616 and 1622 (Spiess and Spiess 1987). The next reported episode, a smallpox epidemic, intermittently ravaged communities farther south and west from 1631 to 1634 (S.F. Cook 1973a). Although evidence is unclear, contemporary sources suggest that these and subsequent epidemics killed thousands. In places such as the Massachusetts Bay town of Patuxet, those not succumbing to epidemic contagion fled from their lands. Those diseases that followed frequently devastated other communities (Dobyns 1983; Grumet 1990a; Ramenofsky 1987).

Wars killed or drove away hundreds more. Indian people throughout the region adopted new weapons, developed new tactics, and acquired new reasons for fighting. Intertribal conflicts, such as the wars between the Tarrantines (today's Micmac people) and Massachusetts Coastal Algonquians, became increasingly lethal (Siebert 1973). Farther west, Mohawk raiders repeatedly forced people living in Western Abenaki and Mahican country to periodically withdraw from and reoccupy settlements within range of their war parties throughout the 17th-century (Calloway 1990; Trelease 1960; Trigger 1971).

Colonial wars also set new standards for ferocity and devastation. The region's first major intercultural conflict, the Pequot War fought between the Pequot Indians of Eastern Connecticut and New England settlers and their Indian allies in 1636 and 1637, resulted in the defeat and near-destruction of the Pequot nation (S.F. Cook 1973b; Hauptman and Wherry 1990; Jennings 1975; Vaughan 1979; Washburn 1978). Settlers and their Indian allies killed or enslaved thousands of New England Indians during King Philip's War of 1675-1676. These wars and debilitating epidemic diseases ultimately reduced overall native population in most areas of the region to less than a tenth of its pre-1600 level by the end of the century.

European population, in contrast, rose dramatically as native numbers declined. The vast majority of these immigrants came from the British Isles. The "Great Migration" of English settlers into southern New England raised settler population in the Bay Colony alone from 1,000 to 11,000 between 1630 and 1638. In another part of Massachusetts Bay, the 3,000 settlers arriving from 1630 to 1633 overwhelmed the 200 Massachusetts and Pawtucket people known to have survived Micmac raids, sporadic attacks from Plymouth settlers, and earlier epidemics (Salisbury 1982a). Thousands of other settlers poured into Rhode Island, Connecticut, and nearby sections of New Hampshire and lower Maine. Still others moved

westward beyond the Connecticut Valley towards the Hudson River and western Long Island lands claimed by the Dutch.

English population in New England grew to nearly 91,000 by 1700. The number of Africans living in the region, by contrast, remained small. No more than 1,700 Americans of African descent were enumerated in New England in 1700 (McCusker and Menard 1985:103). Many probably were new arrivals. Others had most certainly been born in the region. Although nearly all were slaves owned by European settlers, many of these people began living with and marrying Indians.

French numbers never approached those of the English during this period. Their sphere of influence in the region, moreover, was restricted to the upper Champlain Valley and the Acadian border along the St. George and upper Kennebec rivers at this time. Seventeenth-century French forts, settlements, and missions built along these borderlands rarely sheltered more than a few hundred inhabitants.

European population never exceeded 9,000 within the Dutch sphere of influence between the Connecticut and Delaware River valley (Rink 1986). African American population in New Netherland, for its part, did not rise above 600 during these years. European population in New York and northern New Jersey rose to 27,000 in the decades immediately following the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664. During this time, more than 3,000 African people were brought into or born in the area (McCusker and Menard 1985).

War and disease claimed the lives of many newcomers. Despite these losses, immigration, voluntary and otherwise, usually more than made up for all losses. Although exact figures are not available, existing evidence indicates that total European and African population in the North Atlantic rose from near zero in 1600 to more than 130,000 by the end of the century.

Overwhelmed by these numbers and forced to contend with seemingly endless waves of warfare and epidemic disease, Indian people rarely were able to replenish their own losses. Outnumbered, they struggled to resist Europeans determined to control North Atlantic shores by driving away, supplanting, or subjugating the region's original inhabitants.

Much of the record of these events is in written form. Although current technology limits archeological interpretation, resources excavated from sites can confirm or disprove written records. Few sites are known to contain such well-preserved assemblages. Only a few of the hundreds of Indian towns documented in historical records have been archeologically located in the North Atlantic sub-region. Most known archeological sites dating to the 17th-century contain scanty, scattered, or disturbed deposits. Many properties, such as Burr's Hill, RI-1000, and Pantigo, are mortuary sites rather than residential areas. And, like Burr's Hill, many North Atlantic archeological sites have been destroyed following their discovery. Few intact residential properties have been as well studied, preserved, and protected as the

Hinsdale, New Hampshire Fort Hill site excavated by archeologist Peter A. Thomas. Most other systematically excavated sites have been hurriedly unearthed by dedicated amateurs or contract archeologists struggling to keep ahead of bulldozers or looters.

Data recovered from known archeological sites dating to the 1600s collectively indicate that most North Atlantic native people almost wholly adopted objects of European origin by the end of the century. Only small amounts of aboriginal manufactures have been recovered at Burr's Hill and other late 17th-century sites (Gibson 1980). Traditional artifacts manufactured by Indians found at such sites frequently served new functions. Both archival and archeological sources, for example, document the commoditization of wampum shell beads (Ceci 1977). These and other aspects of Indian material culture changed dramatically during the 17th-century.

Such changes do not mean that the region's original inhabitants somehow lost their identities or abandoned cultural traditions during these years. Although many aspects of their lives changed, Indians themselves did not disappear. Surviving wars, epidemics, and dispossession, native people endured. Testifying to Indian persistence, changes documented in written and archeological records show how native people struggled to creatively adapt to drastically changing conditions.

The Eighteenth Century

The already rapid pace of Indian culture change accelerated dramatically throughout the North Atlantic during the 18th-century. Aboriginal social and cultural life was transformed as Indians struggled to contend with colonists intent upon their assimilation, subjugation, dispossession, dispersal, or disappearance. Differential population profiles tellingly reveal the demographic consequences of these events.

Available population records indicate that North Atlantic Indian population, already in sharp decline by the late 1600s, continued to dwindle precipitously as the 18th-century wore on. No fewer than ten episodes of epidemic disease are recorded in Hudson Valley records alone between 1703 and 1767 (Grumet 1990a). Hundreds of other Indian people perished in nearly incessant wars devastating Indian and European frontier communities throughout the century. Land sales and oppressive provincial policies forced other Indians to leave their homes. Many fled to New France. Others moved to the western frontier. Devastated and demoralized, no more than a few thousand Indians remained in the region by the century's end.

European and African population, in contrast, increased exponentially during the same period. Total colonial population in the region rose from 130,000 in 1700 to 630,000 by the time of the final British conquest of New France in 1760 (McCusker and Menard 1985:103, 203). These numbers would grow to more than 1,150,000 by the close of the War for

Independence. Fewer than 50,000 of these people were Africans or descendants of African people. The rest were immigrants from Western Europe.

Warfare raged across the region's borders as France and Great Britain continued their contest for supremacy and survival. Although the British finally forced the French to surrender Canada at the end of the Seven Years War (1755-1762), their triumph was shortlived. The enormous expenditures invested in securing their empire limited their ability to hold it together. Short-sighted attempts to make colonists pay part of the price of this empire soon turned New England into a hotbed of revolutionary ferment. Discontent finally turned to rebellion. Within ten years, Britain was at war with her colonies. By 1783, they were forced to surrender the region to the newly independent United States.

Immigrants moving to North Atlantic provinces during these years became embroiled in these struggles. The violence was not limited to imperial rivalries or contending Indian tribesfolk. Factional conflict marked colonial society at every level as landlords, merchants, provincial functionaries, royal administrators, and residents from neighboring provinces sought advantage over one another throughout the 18th-century. No matter how they struggled among themselves, settlers generally shared the common goal of securing uncontested control over all Indians and Indian lands. Provincial governments intent upon realizing these goals presided over the purchase or confiscation of nearly all Indian lands in the region by 1760.

Although most Indian communities suffered devastating losses, few Indian people were completely dispossessed during this period. Provincial governments set aside small reservations at Shinnecock, on eastern Long Island, Schaghticoke, in upstate New York (not to be confused with the Connecticut community of the same name, hereafter spelled Skatekook), and other locales. Powerful landowners occasionally also deeded small tracts to Indian people. Long Island manor lord William Smith, for example, signed over 175 acres in four tracts to Indian owners in 1700. This act established a reservation that endures today as the modern Poosepatuck community (Gonzalez 1986:119-120).

Indians also continued to move to mission settlements. Some mission settlements, like the earlier mentioned Massachusetts Bay Puritan Praying towns, decreased in importance as the century wore on. Other missions, constructed in more remote frontier areas, grew in influence. Some, like the Norridgewock mission led by the French Jesuit warrior-priest Sebastian Rale, called on converts to openly serve European imperial interests. Others, like the Moravian settlements established in New York and Pennsylvania during the 1740s, were multiracial utopian communities erected by pacifistic communal Protestant sects. Still others, like the mission towns established at Skatekook, Connecticut in 1734 and Stockbridge, Massachusetts two years later were led by Presbyterian ministers inspired by the wave of religious fervor known as "The Great Awakening" that swept across Protestant communities throughout British North America during the 1730s and 1740s.

No matter where they lived, nearly all North Atlantic Indians radically changed many aspects of their way of life during this turbulent century. Observations made by European chroniclers, trade ledger entries, probate records, and archeological deposits all show that Indian abandonment of traditional manufactures, already well along by 1700, was virtually complete by mid-century. The collapse of the New England fur trade and the breakdown of the Indian real estate market following the sales of much of their remaining lands forced growing numbers of Indian people into marginal sectors of the colonial wage economy. Often earning livings as soldiers and guides in the colonial wars, many of these people ultimately became laborers, seafarers, or servants.

Forced from their lands and often compelled to travel long distances in search of work, many Indian people took up a wandering way of life. More than a few of these people were nomads in their own homelands by century's end. Many of these people married spouses from other Indian or non-Indian communities.

Depending where they lived, many Indians learned to speak one of the trade jargons that arose in various parts of the region during the preceding century. As contact became more intensive, numbers of Indian people also learned to speak English or French. People speaking these and other foreign languages also learned foreign ways. Many were taught new languages and customs by knowledgeable kinsfolk, neighbors, or missionaries.

Increasing numbers of Indian people learned to read and write in traditional or European languages. English or French gradually supplanted native languages as elders grew old and died. Many tribal traditions disappeared as young people chose to follow new ways of life they considered more in tune with changing times. In the process, several languages, such as Quiripi, Montauk, and Massachusetts virtually disappeared by the end of the century.

These and other changes also are reflected in alterations or disappearances of many personal, ethnic, and tribal names. Many Indian people took European names. Others began to use Indian names as surnames. Others took on different tribal identities. Many Eastern Niantics, for example, came to identify themselves as Narragansetts following their acceptance of Indian refugees from that tribe following the end of King Philip's War. Southern New England Indian refugees settling among Schaghticoke, townsfolk along the Hoosic River in New York, for their part, collectively became known as Mahicans. Farther west, northern Delaware-speaking Indian refugees moving to the Susquehanna River came to call themselves Munsees, "People from Minisink." As with other changes noted earlier, shifting naming patterns do not signify wholesale disappearances of cultural traditions or people. Instead, they reflect Indian struggles to creatively adapt to the effects of physical relocation, social reorganization, and other consequences of contact.

Sources

Numerous studies analyze written records documenting the earliest encounters between Europeans and Indians in the region. Some of the more accessible of these studies are Brasser (1978a) and Kraft (1989a and 1989b). More extensive surveys may be found in Morison (1971), Quinn (1977, 1981, and 1985; see also Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier 1979), and Scammell (1981). Several studies analyze developments in specific regions or document particular expeditions. Ethnologist Bernard G. Hoffman, for example, conducted intensive investigations into early 16th-century contacts along the northern coast (Hoffman 1961). Lawrence C. Wroth has written a detailed analysis of the 1524 Verrazzano expedition (Verrazzano 1970). Lynn Ceci chronicled early European voyages to southern New England predating Henry Hudson's 1609 voyage to the river today bearing his name (Ceci 1977). Laurier Turgeon explores the potential of Basque, Norman, and Breton archives to reveal new information on 15th-century trade along North Atlantic shores (Turgeon 1990).

A large body of written records documents relations between Indians and colonists in 17th-century New England. General overviews synthesizing major aspects of this literature are published in Jennings (1975), Salisbury (1982b), and Salwen (1978). Extracts from important primary sources documenting events in the North Country are presented in Calloway (1991). Salisbury (1982a) provides a highly detailed review of events in and around southern New England during the first half of the 17th-century. Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978) synopsize information bearing upon the years following King Philip's War. Studies by Harald Prins, Bruce Bourque, and Dean Snow present contrasting views of contact developments in Maine (Prins 1988a, 1991a, and 1991b; Prins and Bourque 1987; Snow 1980).

Large numbers of more specialized studies document particular aspects of 17th-century North Atlantic intercultural relations. English Indian policies are covered in Jacobs (1988). Leach (1988) and Washburn (1978) document 17th-century warfare in the region. Malone (1973) shows how southern New England Indians competed in the arms race with their English neighbors. Puritan-Indian legal relations in Massachusetts Bay are summarized in Kawashima (1986 and 1988a). Particularly useful studies contrasting Indian and English society and material culture in the region may be found in Ceci (1980b and 1982b), P. Thomas (1979 and 1985), and Fairbanks and Trent (1982).

A substantial literature is devoted to English and French Christian Indian missionization efforts. Axtell (1985) provides an excellent overview of the subject. Other valuable sources on 17th-century missionary efforts in the North Atlantic include Brenner (1983 and 1984), Beaver (1988), Campeau (1988), Goddard and Bragdon (1988), Jennings (1971), Lewis (1988), and Salisbury (1972 and 1974). A particularly exhaustive survey of documentary and archeological resources associated with the seven original 17th-century Massachusetts Bay Praying Indian towns may be found in Carlson (1986).

Already cited surveys by Haviland and Power (1981) and Snow (1980) describe much of what is known about 17th-century Indian archeology in the region's more northerly reaches. Papers by James W. Bradley (1983 and 1987b) provide useful overview of developments farther south. The large number of site reports cited in property listings presented below also provide a wide range of archeological documentation for colonial North Atlantic Indian life. Contributions in the Burr's Hill site report (Gibson 1980), for example, represent particularly detailed studies contrasting the wide range of 17th-century aboriginal and European technologies found in Burr's Hill mortuary contexts with contemporary assemblages elsewhere. Other important sources include P. Robinson (1987 and 1990), Simmons (1970), P. Thomas (1991), Turnbaugh (1984), L. Williams (1972), and Young (1969a).

Relatively few sources provide general overviews of 18th-century North Atlantic Indian life. The best single ethnohistoric survey remains Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978). Other useful sources include Beaver (1988), Calloway (1990), Kawashima (1986), and Salisbury (1982b). Several sources cited in the following sections, such as the body of worked produced by archeologist Herbert C. Kraft (1975b, 1978, and 1989), provide important information on archeological evidence associated with particular groups or areas. No general archeological synthesis of 18th-century North Atlantic Indian life has yet been attempted.

Information documenting contact events in North Atlantic areas is presented below:

MAINE

Written records and Indian oral traditions corroborate archeological evidence indicating that a number of different Indian communities called Maine home during the historic contact period. All scholars agree that significant changes in ethnic identity occurred during contact times. Ecologically oriented scholars suggest that concentrations of resources around circumscribed river valleys, separated by relatively unproductive barren lands or hills constrained Maine Indians to develop unique social, economic, and political lifeways within individual drainage systems (Snow 1968; Speck 1915). More recently, scholars documenting complex patterns of interaction revealed historic records hold that Maine Indian people formed intricate flexible networks of kin and clients stretching across and between river valleys (Bourque 1989a; Prins 1986b, 1991a, and 1991b; Prins and Bourque 1987).

The Sixteenth Century

Scholars studying archeological evidence dating to the 16th-century generally agree that incised-collared pottery and triangular chipped stone projectile points resembling types and styles used by people living farther south first appeared in western Maine as early as 1400.

Both side-notched and triangular chipped stone projectile points are found in sites dating to late prehistoric and protohistoric times farther north and east.

Stone or bone harpoons, fishing gear, barbed arrows and spears, and remains of fish, shellfish, and sea mammals found in shell heaps and middens found at various locales along Maine's coast show that the state's original inhabitants drew much of their livelihood from the sea during protohistoric times. No evidence of plant cultivation has yet been found in late prehistoric or protohistoric sites north of the Kennebec River.

Scant archeological evidence of settlement patterns suggests that most native people in Maine generally lived in small temporary settlements. The small number of metal scraps and glass beads found at the Pemaquid and Sargentville sites suggests that European contact minimally influenced Maine Indian technology during protohistoric times. Other effects of contact during these years are less clearly understood at present.

The Seventeenth Century

A great deal of documentary material details events associated with Maine Indians. Unfortunately, inconsistencies and contradictions generated by often fragmentary data have sparked often intense scholarly debates on the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities of Maine's Indians. Contrasting French and English documents with recently discovered archeological evidence, Bruce Bourque and Harald Prins have worked to sort out some of this confusion.

Communities of native people later identified by Samuel de Champlain and other French explorers as Armouchiquois, Etchemins, and Souriquois lined Maine shores when Giovanni da Verrazzano made the first recorded European voyage to North Atlantic shores in 1524. Bourque and Prins believed that most descendants of Souriquois first contacted by French explorers sailing into the Gulf of Maine during the first decade of the 17th-century later came to be known as Micmacs (Algonquian: "Allies or kin-friends"). Ancestors of most Indian people living in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, people tracing Micmac descent within the United States have lived in a small community in the northern reaches of Aroostook County, Maine, for the last several centuries (Prins 1988a; Whitehead 1988).

Prins and Bourque also show that groups identified by the French as Etchemins during the early 1600s lived along the Maine coast east of the Kennebec River. Many of these people were known as Maliseets by the 1700s. Bourque and Prins further have found that people living farther upriver known as Canibas (Kennebecs) generally joined with Etchemins, Maliseets, or Pigwacket Indians living south of the Kennebec to form a loose confederation during the late 1600s. These people, collectively known as the Eastern Abenakis, dominated subsequent intercultural relations in Maine (Bourque 1989a; Prins 1991a and 1991b; Prins and Bourque 1987).

Intensive intercultural contacts began when explorers like Samuel de Champlain and John Smith journeyed to the region during the first decade of the 17th-century. Although precise figures do not exist, the total Indian population in coastal Maine probably numbered 12,000 people at that time. Many of these people cultivated or traded for corn and other crops. All hunted, fished, and collected wild plants and other resources. Living in bark or mat covered wigwams or long houses, their economic interests primarily focused upon what the sea and forest provided.

The fur trade came to play an important role in Maine Indian life as French and English traders penetrated the region during the 1600s. Maine Indians found their lands turned into frontier battlegrounds as France and England began to battle for control of the region during the 1680s. Most Maine Indians maintained cordial relations with the French. English traders generally outnumbered and outbid French competitors. Preferring cheaper, more plentiful, and better English goods, most Maine Indians living to the west of the Penobscot struggled to live with often avaricious Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay traders settling among them at Arrowsic (the Clark & Lake site), the nominated Cushnoc and Pemaquid properties, Saco, and other places.

Responding to opportunities opened by the trade, many Indian people living south of the Kennebec River increasingly frequented these trading posts. As elsewhere, economic and social changes followed commerce. Earlier, men and women often worked together in small domestic production teams. This pattern changed as small groups of men from trading towns traveled increasingly longer distances in search of furs. Women remaining at home forged new roles for themselves as they turned their energies to community affairs, processed pelts, bargained with nearby English traders, and cultivated newly established fields near their homes. First occurring among Maine tribes, changes in sexual roles and responsibilities produced in part by the English and French fur trade ultimately transformed Indian life everywhere in the Northeast during the historic contact period.

Most Maliseets, Canibas, and other Indians from Eastern Maine increasingly became involved in this trade during the early decades of the 17th-century. Mahicans and Indian refugees from other places moving to the area between 1676 and 1725 also took part in the region's commerce (Bourque 1989a; Prins 1988b). Extant written records indicate that epidemics and wars with New Englanders compelled many of these people to move farther away toward Quebec or Acadia as the fur trade collapsed during the waning years of the 1600s.

Forced by war, depopulation, and economic depression to develop more centralized societies, they began to identify themselves as Wabanakis. Together with their Western Abenaki kinsfolk, most of these people reorganized themselves into a somewhat amorphous coalition known to Anglo-American settlers and modern scholars as Eastern Abenakis by the end of the 17th-century.

Archeological and ethnohistoric sources indicate that most major early 17th-century Maine Indian settlements were located along estuaries. Fishing camps were situated on coastal bays and lower reaches of major rivers. A 1625 English source evidently based upon information furnished by Indians kidnapped by English ship captain George Weymouth in 1605 noted that at least 21 native communities were located on 11 rivers in Maine prior to the 1616 pandemic. Frequently identified as Eastern Abenaki towns, these communities were located in a place called Mawooshen stretching from Penobscot Bay to Massachusetts. Coastal Indian people in Mawooshen were organized in a loose confederation led by an influential leader named Bashaba or Betsabes when Europeans first began settling in the region during the early 1600s (Eckstrom 1978; Prins 1991a and 1991b).

The sites of at least two of these communities, the nominated historic town of Norridgewock and a site archeologists have named Nahanada in honor of one of Weymouth's captives, have been located by investigators. Extensive deposits containing large amounts of aboriginal and European artifacts and other materials have been found at both locales. Testing at Nahanada has revealed the presence of a thick midden layer containing post molds, pits, and numerous European artifacts predating the establishment of the nearby English settlement of Pemaquid in 1625. Sadly, erosion has all but obliterated Nahanada. Better preserved sites containing small amounts of contemporary assemblages of European and Indian artifacts have been identified at Allen's Island, Bridges Point, Murray Hill Portage, and several other locales.

Archeological evidence of stone forts, substantial house foundations, and other features found at locales such as the nominated Pemaquid and Pentagoet properties show that Europeans intended to stay. Claiming large areas of land by virtue of deeds bearing marks of native people, they compelled Maine Indians to abandon broad expanses of coastal territory. Relations worsened as epidemics, Mohawk raids, English expansionism, dishonest English traders, several murders, and other provocations angered and alienated most Maine Indians.

In 1675, English settlers, alarmed by the widening King Philip's War, demanded that the Maine Indians surrender their firearms. Many Indians living near English towns soon took refuge in Penobscot country to the north. Outraged by the murder of the infant child of a Saco Indian leader and unwilling to put themselves at the mercy of the English, most of these tribesfolk finally went to war in 1676. Attacking New England settlements throughout Maine, they soon forced abandonment of Arrowsic, Cushnoc, Pemaquid, and other isolated frontier towns. Treaties signed in 1676 and 1678 temporarily put an end to the fighting. Despite these treaties, sporadic attacks continued to break out as unreconciled Maine Indians periodically lashed out against English settlers throughout the remainder of the 17th-century.

Indian relations with the French missionaries, traders, and government officials, by contrast, became closer during the same period. The Pentagoet area soon became a center of French

influence in the region. Pentagoet first became an important French administrative center when Sieur Charles d'Aulnay, the commander of Acadia, built a fort within the modern town of Castine, Maine in 1633. Captured and occupied by the English in 1654, the Pentagoet fort was returned to France in 1670. Rebuilt and refurbished, the fort subsequently served as the capital of Acadia until its final destruction by Dutch privateers in 1674. Refusing to abandon the area, Jean Vincent de Saint Castin established a trading post in a nearby Etchemin town in 1677 (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987). Permanent missions were established at Norridgewock and other places sometime thereafter.

Nominated properties at Cushnoc, Norridgewock, Pemaquid, and Pentagoet contain extensive deposits documenting a wide range of Maine Indian relations with French and English settlers, missionaries, and government officials. Smaller sites such as the College of New England site and Parrott Point containing modest amounts of European and aboriginal artifacts provide evidence of the continuing impact of European technology on late 17th-century settlement and subsistence.

The Eighteenth Century

Most aspects of life changed dramatically for most Maine Indians during the turbulent years of the 18th-century. Hundreds of Indian people were killed in the wars and epidemics that raged across Maine. Colonists pouring into the region relentlessly pressed survivors of wars and epidemics to give up their lands. Giving in to these pressures, many leaders had already sold much of the coast below the Kennebec River to English purchasers by 1700 (Baker 1989). French authorities, for their part, claimed their lands to the north of the Kennebec. No matter how they felt about each other, both nations continued to claim sovereignty over all Maine Indian lands up to the final French defeat in 1760.

Many people previously identified as Etchemins became known as Maliseets, St. John's Indians, or Passamaquoddys during the 1700s. Noted as residents of small settlements located to the north and east of the Penobscot River, most of these people gradually came to be regarded as members of the Wabanaki confederacy. They and other Indians living north and east of the lower Kennebec Valley attempted to remain neutral as France and Britain intermittently went to war against each other. Living on lands lying directly astride the heavily contested frontier separating both belligerents, neutrality became an impossibility. Unable to stay out of the fighting, most Wabanakis aligned themselves with the French when the first of these 18th-century imperial wars broke out in 1703.

At that time, many Maliseet-speaking people lived with Canibas at St. Castin's Habitation (Bourque 1989a). English attacks brought on by fighting associated with Queen Anne's War (1703-1713) forced most of these people to flee farther north towards Quebec or west to Norridgewock (See below). Although some of these refugees remained in Quebec, most returned to Maine to settle at Norridgewock or Old Town.

Large numbers of Malisects remained along the St. Croix River throughout the remainder of the colonial era. A portion of this group split to form the Passamaquoddy community during the early 1700s. Descendants of both communities remain in the United States today in and around reservations at Pleasant Point and Peter Dana Point.

Very little is known about Maine's 18th-century Micmac community. Documentary sources mention Micmacs among Indians living in northeastern Maine throughout the 1700s. No clearly identifiable archeological deposits associated with these people have yet been found.

Most Indians living in Maine were settled in more or less permanent towns by the early 1700s. Some of these settlements contained as many as 100 bark-roofed log houses. Several larger communities, such as Norridgewock, were enclosed by palisaded stockade walls. Whether they lived in fortified towns or small campsites, Maine Indian people mostly used cloth, tools, and weapons imported from Europe.

Indians living in Maine found it increasingly difficulty to find furs or other commodities to barter for these goods as the century wore on. Much of their most desirable land had already been sold or expropriated. Indian hunters and trappers, for their part, had long since extirpated beavers and other fur-bearing animals in most of their territories. No longer able to trap fur or hunt for a living, some found support in Jesuit missions. Many of these people supported their French allies as soldiers, guides, or, more rarely, as laborers after British troops intent upon subjugating or driving away all Indians attacked their settlements during the opening phase of Queen Anne's War.

Most Maine Indians were forced to move from their homes as marauding English columns ranged through their territories. Many settled in Acadia or Quebec. Others relocated themselves closer to the New England frontier at the French Jesuit mission at Norridgewock on the upper Kennebec River. Norridgewock became a key strategic base protecting the Acadian frontier. The town also served as a springboard for military operations against New England. Although British troops periodically destroyed the town, Indian people continued to live in and around Norridgewock until 1754 (Prins and Bourque 1987; Cowie and Petersen 1992).

The most famous of these attacks, a successful assault resulting in the destruction and temporary abandonment of Norridgewock in 1724, occurred during Dummer's War (Eckstrom 1934). New Englanders fought Dummer's War (1722-1727), named for the Massachusetts lieutenant-governor commanding provincial troops during the conflict, to end French influence along their northern frontier with Acadia. Unlike other border wars of the period, Dummer's War was not part of a wider conflict. The war ended when sachems representing Eastern Abenakis and other Maine Indian communities concluded a treaty nominally acknowledging British sovereignty over their territories.

Many Indians did not move back to Maine after the war ended. Those choosing to return increasingly settled in the more remote Penobscot country. Penobscot leaders increasingly came to diplomatically represent most Maine Indian communities in councils with British and colonial authorities as the century wore on. As such, they generally came to be regarded as principal Wabanaki Confederacy representatives in the area. Holding meetings at such places as Old Town, Pleasant Point, and Kingsclear, these people came to be regarded as part of a larger Wabanaki Confederacy including Hurons, Ottawas and others who collectively located their "Great Fire" at Caughnawaga, near Montreal.

The Wabanaki Confederacy attracted many Maine Indians refusing to accept British rule over their homeland. Anxious to live as far away from British settlers as possible, large numbers of these people withdrew farther east while others moved north to Quebec mission towns at Becancour and at Saint-Francois de Sales, known to the Abenakis as Odanak.

Most Wabanaki expatriates sided with the French when the Seven Years War broke out between France and Great Britain in 1755. Most Maine Penobscots, for their part, tried to maintain neutrality. Attacks mounted by other Eastern Abenakis allied with the French soon forced the Penobscots to take sides. Supporting their Wabanaki allies, they continued fighting on against the British even after French defeat in 1760. Many fought on until 1763. Forced to make a separate peace with Massachusetts authorities, the Penobscots were compelled to cede nearly all of their lands along the Penobscot River in 1762. Two years later, they were forced to recognize the provinces's sovereignty over much of their remaining land in Maine. Importantly, although they relinquished sovereignty to their lands, they did not convey their titles to Massachusetts or anyone else.

Most Penobscots and other Wabanaki Confederates agreed to support colonists rebelling against British rule in 1775. Many of these people performed significant service in campaigns against Canada. Although rebel authorities appreciated their help, Maine Indian service in the war did not stop erstwhile allies from trying to take their remaining lands. After the fighting ended, the newly established state of Massachusetts interpreted wording used the 1763 agreement to take title to most remaining Penobscot lands. Dispossessed from much of their territory, the Penobscots were only permitted to keep two coastal islands and others at and above Old Town on the Penobscot River.

Twenty four of the sites listed below are associated with 18th-century Maine Indian life. Most contain small numbers of diagnostic artifacts such as European white clay trade pipes or glass beads. Many are multi-component deposits containing limited evidence of 18th-century occupation. Extensive deposits dating to the 1700s have been located at Indian Island and the nominated Norridgewock mission.

Sources

Studies by anthropologist Frank Speck, such as "Penobscot Man" (Speck 1940), provide basic information for understanding Maine Indian life during the contact era. Overviews of late prehistoric and early historic Indian life in Maine and coastal New Hampshire may be seen in Snow (1978a and 1980). Extensive analyses of Maine Indian ceramics appear in Petersen and Sanger (1989).

Studies by Bruce J. Bourque and Harald Prins provide the most exhaustive overviews of 17th-century Indian life in Maine (Bourque 1989a; Prins 1986b, 1988a, 1988b, 1991a, and 1991b; Prins and Bourque 1987). These studies may be compared to earlier work by Speck (1915), Snow (1978b; 1980), and others. Calloway presents a succinct overview of intercultural relations in the North Country in an introductory essay to his sourcebook containing extracts of printed texts of primary documentation (Calloway 1991). Morrison contrasts spiritual and economic concerns affecting Maine Indian political relations with colonists (1984). Useful archeological overviews are provided by Baker (1985), Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner (1985 and 1987), and Snow (1978a and 1980). Materials found at ME 130-1 RSPF in Farmington Falls may be associated with the multi-cultural Amesokanti community located at the place during the late 1600s (Prins (1988b).

Useful ethnohistoric overviews of social and political aspects of 18th-century Maine Indian life may be found in Prins (1991a and 1991b), Bourque (1989a), Ghere (1988), Snow (1978b), and Morrison (1984).

James D. Wherry's report on the Houlton Band of Maliseet contains a most comprehensive survey of Maliseet life in Maine during the historic contact period (Wherry 1976). Useful ethnohistoric overviews of social and political aspects of Maliseet life also may be found in Prins (1986b, 1991a, and 1991b), Bourque (1989a), Erikson (1978), and Morrison (1984). Comparatively little is known about Maliseet material culture in Maine during the 1700s. Archeological evidence associated with 18th-century Maliseet life within the United States, for example, is scanty. The small Maliseet campsites thus far found in Maine contain modest amounts of 17th or 18th-century European materials mixed together with aboriginal implements.

Very little is known about the Aroostook County Micmac community. Much of what is known is summarized in Prins (1986b, 1988a, 1991a, and 1991b), McBride and Prins (1991), and Nicholas and Prins (1989). Other information on Micmac people may be found in Bailey (1969), Bock (1978), Bourque (1989a), Hoffman (1955), Nietfeld (1981), and Wallis and Wallis (1955).

Inventoried archeological properties located in Maine dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Pejepscot	Topsham, ME	1400-1550	X		MHASI; Spiess & Hamilton 1987
Cobbosseecontee Dam	Manchester, ME	1500s	X		Bourque 1975
ME 8-1	Scarboro, ME	1500s			MHASI
Quick Water	Standish, ME	1500s(?)			MHASI
Pemaquid Burial	Pemaquid, ME	1500s-1600s	X	dist	Camp 1975
Sargentville	Sedgewick, ME	1500s-1600s		dest	Moorehead 1922
UMF 202	Lewiston, ME	1500s-1600s			MHASI
ME 27-59	Warren, ME	1500s-1600s			MHASI
Allen's Island	St. George, ME	1590-1620	X		MHASI; Spiess 1983
College of New England	Biddeford, ME	early 1600s			MHASI
Sandy Point	Bucksport, ME	early 1600s		dest	Bradley 1990; Moorehead 1922
Nahanada	Bristol, ME	1600-1625	X	excel	MHASI; Spiess & Bradley 1979
Norridgewock	Somerset Co, ME	1614-1754	X		Cowie & Petersen 1992; Prins & Bourque 1987
Pemaquid	Lincoln Co, ME	1625-1759	X		Beard & Bradley 1978; Camp 1975
Pentagoet	Castine, ME	1635-1700			A. Faulkner & G. Faulkner 1985
Cushnoc	Augusta, ME	1630s-1775	X		Cranmer 1990; Prins 1986a & 1987
Clark & Lake	Arrowsic, ME	1654-1676	X		Baker 1985
ME 149-1	Eustis, ME	1600s (?)			MHASI
Haskell Island	Harpswell, ME	1600s			MHASI
ME 68-2(HI)	Burnham, ME	1600s			MHASI
ME 130-1 RSPF	Farmington Falls, ME	1600s			MHASI; Prins 1988b
Pond Island District	Deer Isle, ME	1600s	X	good	MHASI
Parrott Point	Cape Elizabeth, ME	1600s			MHASI
Williams Dam	Solon, ME	1600s			MHASI
Woolley	Harpswell, ME	1600s			MHASI
ME 16-119	Southport, ME	1600s			MHASI
ME 24-27	Sabattus, ME	1600s			MHASI
ME 41-53	Searsport, ME	1600s			MHASI
ME 117-72	Tomhegan, ME	1600s			MHASI
Caratunk Falls	Solon, ME	1600s-1700s	X		Spiess 1986
Indian Cellar	Hollis, ME	1600s-1700s			MHASI
Morse Island	Friendship, ME	1600s-1700s	X		MHASI
UMF 202	Lewiston, ME	1600s-1700s			MHASI
Negas	Veazie, ME	1700-1723			A. Faulkner 1988
Hogdon	Embden, ME	1700-1725			Lahti 1975; Spiess 1980
Indian Island	Old Town, ME	1723-present			MHASI; Snow 1980
Beaver	Old Town, ME	1700s			MHASI
Evergreens	Solon, ME	1700s			MHASI
Grassy Island	Parkertown, ME	1700s			MHASI
Metallak Island	Richardsontown, ME	1700s			MHASI
Mill Brook West	Richardsontown, ME	1700s			MHASI
Portland Point	Richardsontown, ME	1700s			MHASI
ME 24-27	Sabattus, ME	1700s			MHASI
ME 61-26	Washington Co, ME	1700s			MHASI
ME 61-32	Washington Co, ME	1700s			MHASI
ME 61-73	Washington Co, ME	1700s			MHASI

ME 74-115	Old Town, ME	1700s		MHASI
ME 117-72	Tomhegan, ME	1700s		MHASI
ME 177-1	Caribou, ME	1700s		MHASI
Big Black	Aroostook Co, ME	undated	X	Sanger 1975
Damariscotta	Damariscotta, ME	undated	X	Holstrom 1969a
Scitterygusset	Falmouth, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 9-98	Cape Elizabeth, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 17-11	Bremen, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 17-71	Friendship, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 27-54	Bremen, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 28-45	Warren, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 78-1	Centerville, ME	undated		MHASI
ME 151-10 RSPF	Stockton Springs, ME	undated		MHASI

WESTERN ABENAKI COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Archeologists currently believe that material evidence recognized elsewhere as indicators of Late Woodland lifeways first appeared in Vermont and New Hampshire sometime after 1100. Recent finds of corn in deposits dating to the 12th-century at the Skitchewaug site, for example, suggest that late prehistoric people in Vermont began cultivating maize less than a century after it was first introduced into the more southerly Hudson and Mohawk Valleys.

Triangular chipped stone projectile points and clay pots similar to others found in nearby parts of Quebec, New York, and Massachusetts have been found throughout the Champlain and Connecticut River Valleys. Some archeologists regard differences in their distributions as reflections of historic ethnic boundaries. Archeologists William A. Haviland and Marjory W. Power, for example, believe that discoveries of concave-based Levanna projectile points similar to those found in the Hudson, Housatonic, and Connecticut River Valleys everywhere in Vermont and New Hampshire suggest close relationships between people in both areas. Relative scarcities of straight-based Madison triangular projectile points generally found farther west, by contrast, are interpreted as evidence of less direct contacts with more westerly people (Haviland and Power 1981). Not all scholars agree with such findings. Examining similar projectile point samples, archeologists William Ritchie, Dean Snow, and Robert Funk were unable to agree on a standard way to differentiate Madison from Levanna points (P. Thomas 1991).

Discoveries of globular pots surmounted with castellations suggest relations with people living to the north and south of Lake Champlain. Many of these pots resemble types used by Hudson and upper Delaware Valley Algonquians and Mohawk Valley Iroquoians

(Haviland and Power 1981). Others are more closely related to wares associated with more northerly Saint Lawrence Iroquoians (Pendergast 1990).

Collectively, existing ceramic, stone, and botanical evidence indicates that the immediate ancestors of the historic native residents of Vermont and New Hampshire lived in ways similar to those of nearby people for at least 300 years before the first evidences of protohistoric contact appear in archeological sites in the Champlain and Upper Connecticut River Valleys.

No intact site containing deposits clearly associated with protohistoric occupation has yet been found in Western Abenaki country. Glass beads, sheet metal projectile points, and bird-shaped copper gorgets have been found in disturbed uppermost top-soil levels at the multi-component Smythe site at Amoskeag in present-day Manchester, New Hampshire (Foster, Kenyon, and Nicholas 1981). Historic documents indicate that Amoskeag was a popular Penacook fishing place during the 17th-century. Other records locate an early 17th-century English trading post nearby. Archeologists have not yet found evidence of either occupation in or near known deposits at the Smythe site.

The Seventeenth Century

The homeland of the ancestors of people today identifying themselves as Western Abenakis stretches across northern New England from the Merrimack River Valley to west Lake Champlain. People living in this region have, at one time or another, regarded lands extending from the St. Lawrence drainage to the north to upper reaches of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to the south as their own.

Written records and oral traditions affirm that a diverse community of different Indian peoples lived in Western Abenaki country during the 17th-century. Limited published materials indicate that most of these people spoke distinct but related Eastern Algonquian languages (Day 1975 and 1981). Coastal Algonquians fleeing north and Mahicans driven east by the Mohawks also moved into the area during the 1600s.

Population estimates indicate that from 5,000 to 10,000 people lived in Western Abenaki country at the dawn of the 17th-century. Many of these people haled from the Western Abenaki heartland. Others were born elsewhere. In the Champlain Valley, people identified as Western Abenakis lived on Grand Isle and at the mouths of rivers like the Missisquoi, Lamoille, and Winooski. Communities of people collectively known as Sokokis were located at places like Squakheag along the central Connecticut River valley. Farther north, other communities were located in and around the Cowasuck Intervale. To the east, Winnepesaukee and Penacook towns lined the upper Merrimack River. People living along the lower reaches of the Merrimack, such as the Pawtuckets and Pigwackets, maintained close relationships with other Indian people living farther south and east.

The small amounts of European materials unearthed at protohistoric archeological sites at Winooski in Vermont and the Weirs in New Hampshire corroborate written records stating that intensive direct contact began late in Western Abenaki country. Although documents show that Indians had been trading with Europeans along the Connecticut River since the 1630s, the earliest documented direct contact with Europeans in Western Abenaki country was recorded by Massachusetts trader William Pynchon in 1652. Trading with Indians at his frontier post in modern Springfield, Massachusetts, Pynchon listed the first known transactions with people identified as Sokokis in his ledger book.

The remote position of Western Abenaki territory, located in mountainous country along the often-contested frontier between New England, New York, and the French colonies of Acadia and New France deterred European expansion into the region during the 17th-century. Their insular position did not deflect the ravages of epidemic disease or warfare, however. Smallpox and other diseases scourged communities across Western Abenaki country throughout the 17th-century. Wars with the Mohawks and New England settlers killed hundreds of people and forced wholesale abandonment of entire towns and regions for years at a time.

The Fort Hill site contains the best known and preserved body of 17th-century deposits in Western Abenaki country. Fort Hill was built by Sokokis as a refuge from Mohawk attack at the beginning of the Second Mohawk-Mahican War (1662-1675). Extant evidence indicates that as many as 500 people crowded within the town's palisade wall between the fall of 1663 and the following spring. Food storage pits found at the site show that large amounts of deer, bear, and dog meat, nuts, dried berries, and from 3,200 to 4,000 bushels of corn were stored and used by townsfolk at this time. French and English muskets, munitions, and glass, metal, and ceramic trade goods further testify to the extent of trade contacts maintained by town inhabitants. Recovery of several Jesuit rings suggests other types of contact.

The occupants of Fort Hill withstood a brief three day Mohawk siege in December, 1663. Despite this success, the Sokokis abandoned their fort a few months later. Some moved nearby to less accessible parts of Western Abenaki territory. Other moved among nearby Cowasuck or Penacook allies or north to New France.

Mohawks decisively defeated a large force of warriors from Western Abenaki country and other parts of New England in 1669. Two years later, settlers moving up the Connecticut Valley purchased their first tracts of land in Sokoki country. As elsewhere in New England, relations between Indians in Western Abenaki country and English colonists deteriorated as both peoples drifted towards war during the early 1670s. Most Indian people living in the region tried to remain neutral when King Philip's War finally broke out in 1675. Unable to completely avoid involvement, unknown numbers of Sokokis and other people living in Western Abenaki country were killed by New Englanders and their Mohawk allies during the struggle.

English and Mohawk attacks forced many people living along the Champlain and Connecticut River valleys to move north to refugee communities along the St. Lawrence River. More than a few joined other Southern New England Algonquians at the Schaghticoke settlement established by New York Governor Edmund Andros in 1676 to guard the province's northern border from French attack.

Large numbers of these refugees returned to Western Abenaki country as the war wound down in 1677. Many of these people settled in remote interior communities at Ossippee Lake, Missisquoi, Winooski, and other places located away from the increasingly colonized Connecticut River valley. Despite their efforts to live unobtrusively, English settlers and their Mohawk allies relentlessly attacked many of these communities. Mohawk raiders forced the inhabitants of Winooski to temporarily abandon the place in 1680. Other attacks temporarily dispersed people trying to live at Coos or Cowasuck along the uppermost reaches of the Connecticut River.

Refugees from Western Abenaki country moving to New France launched a series of retaliatory attacks that ravaged the New England and New York frontier throughout most of the remaining years of the century. Many joined French columns attacking English and Iroquois towns during King William's War (1689-1697). Others sought their own road to vengeance during the waning years of the 17th-century.

The Eighteenth Century

Developments affecting life everywhere in the Northeast continued to be felt in Western Abenaki country throughout the 18th-century. The more disruptive of these developments frequently forced people from Western Abenaki country to temporarily move away from or hide within portions of their ancestral territory. Many of these people, for example, were forced to leave their homes in Vermont and New Hampshire during King William's War (1689-1697). More than a few subsequently moved back during the brief interval of peace between 1697 and the beginning of Queen Anne's War in 1703. Once again, warriors from Western Abenaki country played prominent roles in attacks against the New England frontier. Subjected to counterattacks by New Englanders, most of these people were again forced to take refuge in New France until the war ended.

Many Indian people from Vermont and New Hampshire stayed in New France following the restoration of peace in 1713. Most settled at the mission of Saint Francis. Increasing numbers of these people married people from other tribes. Gradually regarding the St. Lawrence Valley towns as their most secure settlements, most of these people periodically moved among relatives in Maine and at Cowasuck, Missisquoi, Schaghticoke, and other locales.

New England expansion north along the Connecticut River drew many Western Abenakis into Dummer's War. Warriors led by the noted war leader Grey Lock harried frontier settlements across New England. As during King Philip's War nearly 50 years earlier, neighboring New York remained neutral throughout the conflict. Although French troops were not permitted to fight alongside the Western Abenakis, French authorities provided ammunition and provisions to Grey Lock's warriors throughout the conflict.

Most people from Western Abenaki country maintained strong ties with the French when the war ended inconclusively in 1727. Resisting construction of British posts anywhere in their territories, they allowed the French to establish forts and missions along the strategic Lake Champlain-Richelieu River corridor. Several of these posts, most notably Fort St. Frederic, established in 1731 at Crown Point, New York, at the southern end of Lake Champlain and the short-lived Missisquoi mission established by Father Etienne Lauverjat in 1743 at the northern end of the lake, soon became important centers for Indian people living in Western Abenaki country.

Most Indians from Western Abenaki country actively supported their French allies against the British during King George's War (1744-1748) and the subsequent Seven Years War (1755-1762). Exposed to English assault, Indian people living along the frontier were once again forced to leave their towns. The town center at Schaghticoke was permanently abandoned at this time. Although colonists soon moved into Schaghticoke town, Indian people continued to live in hill and valley towns near the site long after peace returned to the region.

Indian population in Western Abenaki country dwindled disastrously during this century of struggle. Many were killed in the nearly interminable wars that ultimately drove most of their people into exile in New France by 1760. Others died in epidemics like the 1730 smallpox outbreak that forced Missisquoi people to withdraw from their settlement for a year. Still others succumbed to stresses associated with repeated relocations brought on by war and epidemic disease.

Most Indian people living in Western Abenaki country were able to avoid direct involvement in the subsequent American War for Independence. Those of their people living in their traditional homeland were forced, once again, to temporarily abandon Missisquoi and other towns. Although exact figures are not recorded in known documents, contemporary Western Abenakis believe that as many as 1,200 of their people survived the conflict. Many of these people lived in and around the Saint Francis mission. The rest were scattered in small back-country settlements at Coos, Missisquoi, and other locales in northern Vermont and New Hampshire.

Sources

Useful summaries of late prehistoric and protohistoric archeological research in New Hampshire and Vermont may be seen in Haviland and Power (1981) and Snow (1980). Much of what is known about protohistoric contact in Vermont is summarized in Pendergast (1990). Peter A. Thomas's studies of 17th-century Squakheag archeology and ethnohistory are indispensable reading for anyone interested in Western Abenaki life of the period in particular and southern New England Algonquian sociocultural change in general (P. Thomas 1977, 1991, and 1985). Day (1978) provides a general overview of Western Abenaki sociocultural identity and history. Calloway (1990 and 1991) presents vital detailed information of social and political developments in the area. Haviland and Power (1981) and Snow (1978a and 1980) continue to provide the best available overviews of archeology in Western Abenaki country.

Studies by Calloway (1990 and 1991), Day (1978), and Haviland and Power (1981) summarize ethnohistoric documentation for the 18th-century. Almost nothing is known about archeology in Western Abenaki country dating to the 1700s. The only deposit dating to the period, the below-listed Howe Farm Site in Burlington, Vermont, contains scant and fragmentary evidence of Western Abenaki occupation.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Western Abenaki Country dating to the historic contact period include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Smythe	Manchester, NH	late 1500's		dist	Bradley 1983; Foster, Kenyon, and Nichols 1981; Willoughby 1935
Union Cemetery	Manchester, NH	late 1500s		dist	Lamson 1895
The Weirs	Laconia, NH	early 1600s	X		Moorehead 1931;Sargeant 1974
Winooski	Winooski, VT	1640-1680			VAI
Fort Hill (NH)	Hinsdale, NH	1663-1664			P. Thomas 1991
Ossippee Lake	Ossippee, NH	mid 1600s		dest	Bradley 1983
Bonny Bake Pond Farm	North Berwick, ME	1600s			MHASI
Fort Anne	Isle La Motte, VT	1600s			VAI
Great Bend	Vernon, VT	1600s			VAI
Monument Farm	Highgate, VT	1600s			VAI
Harvey Mitchell	Newton Junction, NH	1700-1749			Holmes 1982
Howe Farm	Burlington, VT	1720			VAI
Penacook	Concord, NH	contact			Simpson 1984

EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS

The Sixteenth Century

As elsewhere in the region, lifeways similar to those chronicled by European colonists first emerged in Eastern Massachusetts sometime between the 1300s and 1400s. Many people following these lifeways grew much of their own food and produced new forms of globular and conoidal pots. Some of these vessels were collared, and more than a few were surmounted with castellations. Eastern Massachusetts country folk living farther west towards the Connecticut River valley often produced wares similar to those associated with other people living along the Hudson, Mohawk, and upper Delaware River drainages. People living closer to Massachusetts and Cape Cod Bays frequently produced variants of Niantic series globular collared Hackney Pond and other terminal Windsor wares. Contemporaries living in more southerly locales between Cape Cod and Narragansett Bay generally favored Late Woodland Sebonac series conoidal wares similar to those produced by neighboring people living along the shores of Long Island Sound (Lavin 1987; Luedtke 1986; McBride 1984).

Although many archeologists believe that large numbers of sites dating to protohistoric times survive in Eastern Massachusetts, relatively few intact deposits clearly dating to the 1500s have yet been found (Kerber 1988-1989). Archeologist James W. Bradley's recent analyses of temporally diagnostic European goods found in the below-listed sites represents one of the first systematic attempts to develop reliable chronological controls capable of identifying and dating protohistoric archeological resources in and around Massachusetts Bay (J. Bradley 1983 and 1987). Many of the earliest of these sites represent small short-term habitations. Nearly all inventoried sites dating from 1575 to 1620, in contrast, are burials.

Most known protohistoric sites in the area possess only scanty evidence of European contact. A number contain small amounts of glass beads. Hoops, spirals, and other metal objects also have been found. Several radiometrically dated deposits dating to the 1500s, like those assayed from nominated Nauset archeological deposits, are not accompanied by presently identifiable evidence of European contact. Other radiometrically dated deposits, such as those found in disturbed middens or pits at the Marshall (Dincauze 1991; Pretola and Little 1988) and Hayward's Portanimicutt (Eteson 1982) sites, contain mixed assemblages of Late Woodland and historic European artifacts and other materials. Discovery of an iron chain on the front of the South Weymouth dugout canoe reinforces the fact that it's 16th-century radiometric date reflects the age of the tree, not the canoe's construction date (Dincauze 1991).

The Seventeenth Century

Scholars generally observe continuity rather than change in most known late 16th and early 17th-century archeological sites. This situation changes drastically in deposits post-dating intensive European colonization. Massachusetts State Historic Preservation Office planning

documents recognize these changes by categorizing what is regarded as a post-contact phase into "Plantation" (1630-1675) and "Colonial" (1675-1775) periods (Bradley 1984).

Europeans began documenting Indian people and places by name during the early years of the century. By 1687, Massachusetts Bay Colony Indian superintendent Daniel Gookin listed five "principal Indian nations" in southern New England (Gookin 1972). Three of these nations, the Pawtuckets, the Pokanokets (today known as Wampanoags), and the Massachusetts lived on or near the coast of Eastern Massachusetts. Although much work has been done, scholars have not yet precisely defined the boundaries, identities, or affiliations of these groups. Archeologists, for example, cannot confidently link distinctive pottery styles or artifact assemblages with historically identified Indian nations at present. Written records, largely produced after epidemic disease ravaged Massachusetts Bay Indian communities document overlapping aboriginal territorial boundaries, changing ethnic identities, and shifting alliances and affiliations suggesting systems of flexible networks rather than rigidly defined tribal territories.

Currently available documentary sources indicate that Indian people living in Pawtucket territory generally maintained close relations with one another during much of the 17th-century. At its widest extent, Pawtucket country stretched from Piscataway lands along the lower Maine and New Hampshire coast south from the downriver Penacook country along the lower Merrimack River and Agawam (Ipswich, Massachusetts: not to be confused with the other Agawam country around Springfield, Massachusetts) to the Naumkeag country around Salem, Massachusetts. Salisbury (1982a) suggests that the Indian population in Pawtucket country ranged from 21,000 to 24,000 before epidemics and wars with the Northern Indians reduced their numbers to less than 1,000 by 1674. Prominent Indian leaders in the region, such as the Pennacook sachems Passaconaway and Wannalancet, the influential Massachusett woman leader recorded by English annalists only as "the Squaw Sachem," and her first husband, Nanapeshamet, the Pawtucket chief, worked to establish mutually beneficial relations with New England settlers during the early 1600s. Although these and other leaders resisted demands of land-hungry settlers, most had to sell much of their lands by mid-century.

Many people from Pawtucket country moved to Wamesit and other Puritan Indian Praying Towns around Massachusetts and Cape Cod Bays after selling most of their ancestral lands. Many of these Christian Pawtuckets either remained neutral or aided New England colonists during King Philip's War. Worsening relations following the end of the war ultimately forced many people from Pawtucket country to join family and friends beyond the New England frontier.

Few historical aboriginal sites dating to the 17th-century have been discovered in Pawtucket country. Most that are known are mortuary sites. Although some sites survive, most have been destroyed. Two sites currently are known to contain remains of more extensive habitation. Substantial evidence of contact in the form of European white clay trade pipes, iron

knives and axes, copper or brass triangular projectile points, and a sheet lead animal cutout have been found with shell and bone tools and ornaments, collared pottery and triangular chipped stone projectile points at the Rock's Road site. This coastal site, known to early colonists as Winnacunnet, is believed to be the locale of a major Agawam town. Terminal dates of many European artifacts found at Rock's Road corroborate written evidence affirming Indian abandonment of the place sometime before English settlers first moved to the area in 1636 (B. Robinson and Bolian 1987).

Some 238 historic artifacts, including glass beads and a copper disc, were excavated with Late Woodland pottery, fire-cracked rocks, and chipped stone flakes from upper levels of the Campbell site. Located along the middle reaches of the Merrimack River valley, this site evidently was the locale of a small camp. First used by Indian people during Middle Woodland times, it continued to be occupied intermittently until 1633, when English settlers constructed a cattle pen on the site.

Historic records identify the lands immediately south of Pawtucket country as Massachusett territory. Most modern investigators believe that the heart of this territory stretched around the shores of Massachusetts Bay when English settlers from Plymouth moved to Wessagusett in 1622. Marks on deeds of such prominent sachems as Massasoit indicates that Massachusett country may have extended as far south as Taunton. Major settlements in Massachusetts country included already mentioned Wessagusett, Shawmut (today's Boston), and Neponset. Salisbury (1982a) believes that the number of Indian people living in Massachusett country at the time of contact probably exceeded Gookin's figure of 21,000 to 24,000. The Massachusetts reportedly could marshal as many as 3,000 warriors before wars with Northern Indians and epidemics reduced their numbers to a total population to no more than 500 at the time of the founding of colonial Wessagusett. Smallpox further reduced their numbers in 1633.

Puritan settlers taking advantage of Indian depopulation flooded into Massachusett country during the 1630s. The new settlers quickly forced the few Indians still living in the area to allow them to settle on their lands. Most displaced native people ultimately moved to Puritan Indian Praying Towns at Natick, Ockocagansett, and elsewhere in and around the Massachusetts Bay Colony by the 1650s where they served both as proselytes and as frontier guards protecting the expanding Puritan settlements (Bowden and Ronda 1980; Jennings 1971; Salisbury 1972 and 1974). Living under the supervision of John Eliot and other missionaries, they helped to produce one of the first Bibles translated into a North American Indian language (Goddard and Bragdon 1988). Their piety and faithfulness neither protected them from harassment from hostile English neighbors nor shielded them from further epidemics. Struggling to hold onto their lands and lives, the number of Indian people living in Massachusett country continued to dwindle throughout the remainder of the 17th-century.

Surveys funded by the Massachusetts Historical Commission have inventoried known archival and archeological information associated with the seven original 17th-century Massachusetts Bay Praying Indian towns (Carlson 1986). Archeological testing has recorded resources associated with the Natick, Ockocagansett, and Punkapog Praying Indian Towns. Surveyors working along the Charles River also have discovered a brass triangular projectile point and an English gunflint at the Hemlock Gorge Rock Shelter and an engraved iron axehead at the Cutler Morse site (Dincauze 1968). White clay pipestems and other objects of European origin have been found with Late Woodland ceramics and stone tools in features within the Powissett Rockshelter (Dincauze and Gramly 1973). Farther south, avocationalists have identified several historic components in habitation and mortuary sites on both banks of the Nemasket River within the Titicut complex site area around North Middleboro.

Burials found at Titicut and other locales show that mortuary sites are the most common known deposits associated with 17th-century Indian occupation in Massachusett country. As Dincauze (1974) notes, the prevalence of mortuary sites in the area grimly reflects the disastrous depopulation documented in European records of the period. Sites associated with habitation and other activities, for their part, have been damaged or destroyed by more than three centuries of development extending outward from Boston's urban core.

To the south, Pokanoket country extended between Cape Cod and Narragansett Bays. Known today as Wampanoags ("Easterners"), the area's original inhabitants also made their homes on Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket Island, and other offshore islands. During the early 17th-century, people living in Pokanoket country organized themselves into a loose confederacy numbering from 21,000 to 24,000 adherents. Their major communities included Nauset, Manomet, Cummaquid, Monomoy, and Mashpee on Cape Cod, Patuxet and Nemasket on Plymouth Bay, Nantucket, Capawack on Martha's Vineyard, and the eastern Rhode Island towns of Aquidneck and Massasoit's town of Pokanoket at Sowams in Bristol. Of these towns, only Gay Head, on Martha's Vineyard, and Mashpee, on Cape Cod, remain today. Nauset and Pokanoket's burial ground (the Burr's Hill site), for their part, represent the most extensive known deposits associated with Indian life in 17th-century Pokanoket country.

The Indians of Pokanoket country are best known to other Americans as the people of Squanto, Massasoit, and the first Thanksgiving. Squanto is remembered by schoolchildren everywhere as the friendly English-speaking Patuxet Indian who saved the Pilgrims during their first grim spring at Plymouth in 1621. Kidnapped by English slavers in 1614 and sold in Spain, Squanto managed to make his way to London by 1617. Shortly thereafter, he contrived his return to Massachusetts by promising to guide gold-hungry adventurers to deposits of the precious metal allegedly located near his home.

Returning in 1619 to find his people's lands abandoned following the 1616 epidemic, he was subsequently captured when warriors from nearby Indian communities led by Epinow, another former English captive, attacked and destroyed the English landing party he was

guiding. Squanto later emerged in English annals as the bilingual intermediary who taught settlers how to manure their fields with fish (a skill he may have picked up from settlers in Newfoundland. See Ceci 1975) and established diplomatic relations between Massasoit's people and colonists at Plymouth during the spring of 1621 (Salisbury 1981 and 1982a). The first Thanksgiving, a modest feast hosted by the settlers, occurred during the following autumn. Squanto died, allegedly from poison, sometime thereafter.

A large confederacy of Indian communities led by Massasoit dominated Pokanoket country during this period. Often at war with their Narragansett neighbors, both peoples frequently were subjected to attacks from Tarrantines and other Indians living farther north. Anxious to secure advantages against his enemies, Massasoit established an alliance with Plymouth settlers moving near his towns. Although the colonists refused to attack the Narragansetts on his behalf, they did provide a measure of protection to many Indian people living in Pokanoket country.

The price of alliance proved high. Plymouth settlers incessantly demanded land and extorted exorbitant fines for infractions of provincial law. Many Indian people losing their lands were forced onto reservations like Mashpee, where 50 square miles were set aside by Plymouth authorities in 1660. There and elsewhere, Indian people appointed officials acceptable to English authorities, established courts, and kept written records in their own language (Goddard and Bragdon 1988). Although numbers of Indians moved away rather than live under English supervision, many remained to deal with the increasingly overbearing Plymouth authorities as best they could.

War finally broke out in 1675. Named for the influential Wampanoag leader Metacomet or Matacam known among the English as King Philip who led many warriors during the worst years of the war, nearly every Indian community in Southern New England ultimately was embroiled in the struggle. By the time the fighting stopped in Massachusetts Bay in 1676, most Indians from Pokanoket country, including King Philip, were dead. Those who had not surrendered or been killed by the English and their Mohawk and Christian Indian allies were in hiding or exile. Many fled to New York and points west. Others moved north to New France or Acadia. Large numbers of Indians surrendering to colonists were sold into slavery. Only neutral Cape Cod townsfolk and offshore islanders escaped the general conflagration.

Nearly all Indians remaining in Pokanoket country were restricted to closely supervised reservations or mission towns after the war ended. Devastated by epidemics throughout the remainder of the century, survivors increasingly married neighboring European Americans, African Americans, and other Native Americans as their own numbers dwindled. By 1700, European documents indicate that fewer than 1,000 Indian people continued to make their homes in Pokanoket country.

The majority of known archeological sites in Pokanoket country predate King Philip's War. As elsewhere in Eastern Massachusetts, most of these sites represent cemeteries or individual burials. Several, such as the Purcell site burials containing the remains of women and children evidently pierced by bone and bronze arrow points, testify to violent happenings in the area. Others provide potentially important demographic, epidemiological, or other data.

Most non-mortuary sites represent the fragmentary remains of habitation or special activity areas. One of the most extensive of these areas, the nominated Nauset archeological district, contains the remains of the early 17th-century Indian community sketched by Samuel de Champlain during his visits in 1605 and 1606.

The Eighteenth Century

Indian communities throughout Eastern Massachusetts continued to shrink in size during the 18th-century. Only four of 14 Massachusetts Bay "Praying Towns" established before King Philip's War, Natick, Punkapog (modern Canton), Wamesit (today's Lowell), and Chabanakongkomun, in the town of Webster, endured into the 1700s. Other communities survived in Plymouth, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and elsewhere.

Living in the heart of the English settlements, Eastern Massachusetts Praying Indians managed to avoid the worst effects of border violence that ravaged Indians living in Abenaki country and elsewhere throughout most of the 18th-century. At the same time, the nearness of English towns increased exposure to epidemic contagion. One episode, a yellow fever epidemic, killed the majority of Indian people living in Nantucket in 1763. Hundreds of other Indian people were killed by the many smallpox, measles, malaria, and influenza epidemics that struck Indian communities everywhere during the 1700s.

Missionaries and overseers appointed by town governments or provincial authorities continued to dominate Massachusetts Indian communities during these years. Although Indian people generally maintained their most substantial permanent settlements in these towns, many used other tracts located beyond reservation or mission boundaries for foraging, fishing, hunting, or other uses.

Despite attempts to dominate their lives, many Indian people retained control over their day-to-day affairs during the 18th-century. Quickly learning what was and was not acceptable to their non-Indian neighbors, most Indian communities drew up and enforced ordinances regulating internal relations. Many kept written records in their own language. And more than a few were guided by Indian leaders such as Daniel Takawampait, who succeeded John Eliot as minister to Natick from 1690 to his death in 1716.

All Indian leaders were appointed and supervised by colonists. Colonial authorities also insisted on approving all laws and ordinances enacted by Indians. Massachusetts authorities

further regulated all relations between Indians and non-Indians. Bodies of law systematizing Puritan-Indian legal relations were drawn up to adjudicate disputes over land and deal with other issues of importance to both peoples. Such disputes over land occurred with increasing frequency as settlers acquired title to most remaining Indian lands in the province.

Native people in Massachusetts very nearly abandoned many vestiges of their ancestral ways of life during the 18th-century. Although many Indian people continued to live in wigwams, increasing numbers moved into frame houses built and distributed on the landscape in accordance with current English style. English dress and decoration were adopted. Nearly all tools, implements, and weapons were acquired from English merchants or crafted from English models.

Most Massachusetts Indians struggled to adopt these and other aspects of British material culture on their own terms. As floor plans of wigwams and a frame house found together at the 18th-century Simons site in Mashpee show, interior houseplans of many Indian frame houses, for example, enclosed single unpartitioned spaces more reminiscent of wigwams than British houses (Savulis 1991). Although Indian people increasingly adopted European fabrics, glass beads, and metal ornaments, they continued to use these materials to satisfy their own sense of style and fashion. And, while they their tools and implements came to be nearly indistinguishable from those used by European neighbors, few Indian people employed them to amass large amounts of capital or control the labor of others.

Other aspects of their lives changed more drastically as the 18th-century wore one. Although many elders continued to speak traditional languages, English came into common usage as the primary language of Massachusetts Indians by mid-century. Perhaps the single most important factor accounting for this transition was the increasing prevalence of marriages between Indian people and English-speaking settlers of European or African descent. Although Indian people moving in with non-Indian spouses rarely abandoned their Indian heritage, dwindling numbers passed this heritage on intact to their children. Despite this fact, many children born to such unions continued to acknowledge their Indian ancestry and identity.

More than Indian identity survived during these years. As anthropologist William S. Simmons has shown, many communities maintained bodies of oral tradition. Supporting ongoing community cohesiveness, many of these traditions also preserved ancestral knowledge. Indian herbalists and healers further continued to serve Indian and non-Indian clients. And many Indian men and women perpetuated traditional crafts such as basket-making and wood carving.

As earlier, mortuary sites constitute much of the known archeological record of 18th-century Indian life in Eastern Massachusetts. Unlike earlier periods, many of these sites represent cemeteries containing numbers of people buried in coffins rather than individual interments. As many as 19 grave shafts and five burials thought to represent interments of Nantucket

Indians killed by the 1763-1764 yellow fever epidemic have been found during archeological excavations at Miacomet Burial Ground. Other surveys have been conducted at such places as the Chapman Street Indian Burial Ground in Canton, the Christiantown Burial Ground, the Hassanomisco Indian Burying Ground, the Santuit Pond Road Cemetery, and the Christian Indian Burial Grounds at Gay Head and Natick.

Archeological remains of several 18th-century habitation sites have been found at Fairhaven, Mashpee, and at various locales on Nantucket Island. Standing structures associated with Christian Indian missionaries also survive on Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard.

Sources

Dean R. Snow's survey (1980) continues to be the best general summary of protohistoric archeological research in Southern New England. No single overview of Pawtucket archeology or ethnohistory currently exists. Dena F. Dincauze's earlier mentioned study notes how the high percentage of burial sites in Pawtucket country and elsewhere reflects the consequences of direct contact with Europeans in and Massachusetts Bay during the 17th-century (Dincauze 1974). A number of archeologists address the question of "Where are the Woodland Villages?" in and around Eastern Massachusetts in Kerber 1988-1989). Daniel Gookin's historical collection (1970) and John Winthrop's journal (1908) provide important primary documentary data on affairs in Pawtucket country. Other information on aspects of intercultural relations in the region can be found in Jennings (1975), Salisbury (1982a), Salwen (1978), and Vaughan (1979).

A substantial body of records document life in Pokanoket country during the early 17th-century. Aside from the basic references mentioned earlier, important information is contained in such primary accounts as Champlain's journal of his 1605-1606 voyage (Champlain 1922-1936(1):343-358, 402-432), Thomas Morton's 1637 "New England Canaan" (Morton 1883), Mourt's 1622 "Relation" (Mourt 1963), and William Wood's "New England Prospect" (W. Wood 1634). A number of studies examine Indian and colonial military technology and tactics in the area before and during King Philip's War (Hirsch 1983; Malone 1973 and 1991). Other studies survey the War itself (Bourne 1990; Jennings 1975; Leach 1958; and Vaughan 1979). Less work has been devoted to understanding lifeways in the area after King Philip's War. Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978), Goddard and Bragdon (1988), Kawashima (1986), and Simmons (1986) provide particularly useful surveys of known ethnohistoric information.

Many of the documents analyzed in these studies mention one or more of the nearly 40 Indian towns known to have existed in Eastern Massachusetts during the 18th-century. Archeological surveys indicate that the inhabitants of these towns maintained traditional dispersed settlement patterns rather than adopt nucleated town plans used by neighboring colonists (Brenner 1984; Kerber 1988-1989).

Several of these communities, such as Mashpee and Gay Head, survive today. Although many Indian burying grounds from the period are listed on current inventories, only a few of these properties are known to contain extensive intact deposits. One of these, the Chapman Street Praying Indian Burial Ground, contains remains associated with the people of the Punkapog Praying Indian Town. Others are located within the borders of the former Praying Indian Town of Natick. One of these properties is a much disturbed community cemetery plot containing graves of many Natick Indian people. The other, a frame house that originally served as home to the last missionary to the Natick Indian community, is one of the few surviving above-ground structures associated with early contact between Indians and colonists in Massachusetts.

Inventoried properties associated with historic contact period Indian life in Eastern Massachusetts include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Cedar Swamp 4	Westboro, MA	1500s			C. Hoffman 1987
Eel River	Plymouth, MA	1500s		dist	Brewer 1942
EPA	Palmer, MA	1500s			Bawden 1977
Haywards Portanimicutt	Orleans, MA	1500s		good	Eteson 1982
Indian Crossing	Chicopee, MA	1500s			Ulrich 1977
Nemasket	Middleboro, MA	1500s			Bradley 1987b
Newcomb Street	Norton, MA	1500s			Thorbahn 1982
Peck	Orleans, MA	1500s			Bradley 1987b
Peterson	Chilmark, MA	1500s			W. Ritchie 1969b
South Swansea	Swansea, MA	1500s		dest	Phelps 1947
Stepping Stones	Holbrook, MA	1500s			C. Hoffman 1986
Buttermilk Bay	Bourne, MA	1500-1575			Bradley 1987b
Indian Neck	Wellfleet, MA	1500-1575		dest	Bradley, et al 1982
Muddy Cove	Harwich, MA	1500-1575			Bradley 1987b
Railroad	Truro, MA	1500-1575		dest	Moffett 1946
Winthrop Burials	Winthrop, MA	1575-1600		dist	Willoughby 1924, 1935
Herring Weir	Mattapoisett, MA	1575-1620		dest	Bradley 1987b
Isaac Wyman	Marblehead, MA	1575-1620		dest	Hadlock 1949
Namequoit Point	Orleans, MA	1575-1620		dest	Bradley 1987b
Skeleton in Armor	Fall River, MA	1575-1620		dest	Phelps 1947
Powissett Rockshelter	Westwood & Dover, MA	1580-1650			Dincauze & Gramly 1973
Bear Hollow	Sutton, MA	1500s-1600s			Cox, et al. 1982
Bettys Neck	Lakeville, MA	1500s-1600s			MHAS
Hartford Avenue	Uxbridge, MA	1500s-1600s			D. Ritchie 1985
Nauset	Eastham, MA	1500s-1600s		good	McManamon 1984

Titicut Complex Fort Hill Bluff Seaver Farm Taylor Farm Titicut Burials	N Middleboro, MA	1500s-1600s		dist	Dodge 1953; 1962; Fowler 1974; Jeppson 1964; Robbins 1967; Taylor 1976; 1982
Atlantic Hill	Hull, MA	1600s		dest	Bradley 1983
Bay Street 1	Taunton, MA	1600s			Thorbahn 1982
Chelsea Beach	Chelsea, MA	1600s		dest	Bradley 1983
Revere Beach	Revere, MA	1600s		dest	Hadlock 1949
Corn Hill	North Truro, MA	1600s		dest	Robbins 1968
Fall River Burial	Fall River, MA	1600s		dest	Chapin 1927
Follins Pond	Barnstable, MA	1600s			Pohl 1960
G.B. Crane	Norton, MA	1600s			Thorbahn, et al. 1983
Indian Necropolis	Medford, MA	1600s		dest	Corey 1897
Indian Ridge	Ipswich, MA	1600s		dest	Willoughby 1924
Ipswich Burial	Ipswich, MA	1600s		dest	Hadlock 1949
Mount Hope Farm	Bristol, RI	1600s	X	dist	Warren 1976
Plain Street	Norton, MA	1600s			Thorbahn 1982
Purcell	Barnstable Co, MA	1600s		dest	Schambach & Bailey 1974
Quidnet	Nantucket, MA	1600s		good	Little 1977
Rozenas 2	Raynham, MA	1600s			Thorbahn 1982
Sandy Neck	Barnstable, MA	1600s		dest	Bullen & Brooks 1948
Savin Hill Park	Boston, MA	1600s		dest	Willoughby 1935
Snake River East	Taunton, MA	1600s			Thorbahn 1982
Snake River West	Taunton, MA	1600s			Thorbahn 1982
Wapanucket	Middleboro, MA	1600s		dest	Robbins 1959
Campbell	Litchfield, NH	early 1600s		good	Kenyon 1983
Clark's Pond	Ipswich, MA	early 1600s			Bullen 1949
Lemon Brook	Newton, MA	early 1600s		dest	Dincauze 1968
Hemlock Gorge Rock Shelter	Newton, MA	early 1600s		dist	Dincauze 1968
Moswetuset Hummock	Quincy, MA	early 1600s	X	good	Bradley 1983; R. Hale 1971
Indian Grave	Lincoln, MA	1600-1650		dest	Barber 1984
Old Fish Weir	East Bridgewater, MA	1649			MHAS
South Natick	Natick, MA	1650-1700	X	good	Dincauze 1968; Bradley 1983; Fitch 1983
Burr's Hill	Warren, RI	1655-1680		dist	Gibson 1980
Chapman Street Praying Indian Burial Ground	Canton, MA	1660-1713		good	MHAS; Simon 1990
Wampanoag Royal Cemetery	Middleboro, MA	1676-1812	X	good	Robbins 1975
Forest Street Indian Burial Ground	Marlborough, MA	mid 1600s		good	Carlson 1989
Hemenway	Eastham, MA	mid 1600s			F. Johnson 1942
Mattaquason Purchase	North Chatham, MA	mid 1600s		dist	Eteson, Crary, & Chase 1978
Rocks Road	Seabrook, NH	mid 1600s		dest	B. Robinson & Bolian 1987
Sesapana Will's Cellar Hole	Nantucket, MA	1680-1725		good	MHAS
Cutler Morse	Holliston, MA	late 1600s		good	Dincauze 1968
Ockocagansett	Marlborough, MA	late 1600s		dest	Hudson 1862

Patuxet Hotel	Kingston, MA	late 1600s	dest	Bradley 1983
Tiverton Burial	Tiverton, RI	late 1600s	dest	Chapin 1927
Christian Indian Burial Ground	West Tisbury, MA	1600s-1700s	good	MHAS
Hassanomisco Indian Burying Ground	Grafton, MA	1600s-1700s	good	Mulholland, Savulis, & Gumaer 1986
RM-27	Chatham, MA	1700s	good	MHAS
Christian Indian Burial Ground	Gay Head, MA	1700s-1800s	good	MHAS
Santuit Pond Road Cemetery	Mashpee, MA	1700s-1800s	dist	MHAS
Experience Mayhew House	Chilmark, MA	1700-1745	good	MHAS
Tashime's Cellar Hole	Nantucket, MA	1720-1780	good	MHAS
Christian Indian Burial Ground	Stockbridge, MA	1734-1785	good	MHAS
Scontuit Neck	Fairhaven MA	1750s	good	MHAS
Simons House	Mashpee, MA	1750-1900	dist	Savulis 1991
Reverend Badger House	Natick, MA	1753-present X	good	B. Pfeiffer 1979
Gideon Hawley House	Barnstable, MA	1758-1807	good	MHAS
Miacomet Burial Ground	Nantucket, MA	1763-1764	good	MHAS
Car-Tracks	East Wareham, MA	undated		Stockley 1962
Dugout Canoe	South Weymouth, MA	uncertain	excel	Kevitt 1968
Eel Point	Madaket, MA	undated		Fowler 1973
Ford	Orleans, MA	undated		MHAS
Marshall	Nantucket, MA	uncertain		Pretola 1973; Pretola & Little 1988
Powers Shell Heap	Kingston, MA	undated		Sherman 1948
Squantum Burial	Quincy, MA	undated	dest	MHAS
Valley	Duxbury, MA	undated	dist	MHAS

NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Today, the Narragansett people are among the most prominent and influential of the Southern New England tribes. Although oral traditions recall Indian lifeways in the area at the time of contact, virtually nothing is known about the archeology of Indian life in and around Narragansett Bay during the first century of contact. Several sites contain evidence of terminal Late Woodland occupation in the area. Despite this fact, fragmentary deposits recovered from the McCluskey site on Block Island are the only currently known deposits capable of being dated to the 1500s with any degree of confidence in Narragansett country. Several scholars believe that the handsome people described by Verrazzano during his visit

to a broad bay in New England during the spring of 1524 were encountered on Narragansett Bay (Verrazzano 1970). No other clearly identifiable written or archeological evidence dating to this century presently is known.

The Seventeenth Century

The historic heart of Narragansett country centered around southern Rhode Island in North and South Kingstown and Conanicut Island when Adriaen Block made the next recorded visit to the region in 1614. Scholars today believe that as many as 40,000 people may have been living in this area at the time of Block's visit (Salisbury 1982a).

Narragansett country has at times stretched to embrace territories of nearby Niantics, Cowesets and Pawtuxets to the north, and Maniseans on Block Island to the south. Narragansett sachems also asserted authority over Montauks, Nipmucks, Wampanoags, and other neighboring peoples at various times. Surviving records indicate that influential sachems sometimes forcibly extended and maintained such authority. Narragansett attacks, for example, compelled the Montauks and other Eastern Long Islanders to pay tribute in the form of wampum and other products. Farther north, Narragansetts at war with Wampanoags sold land claimed by Massasoit in what is today Providence, Rhode Island, to English purchasers. Seemingly interminable conflicts with Wampanoags, Pequot tribesfolk, and their Mohegan descendants ultimately embroiled people from Narragansett country throughout much of the 17th-century.

Narragansett leaders generally worked to maintain peaceful relations with English settlers as the century wore on. Although Narragansett sachems defiantly challenged Plymouth settlers in 1622, sachems Canonicus and Miantonomi welcomed Puritan dissenter Roger Williams to settle in their territory in 1636. One year later, Narragansett warriors helped New England soldiers attack and destroy the Pequot Fort at Mystic, Connecticut. Others traded extensively along the Rhode Island frontier at places like Samuel Gorton's house in Warwick and the nominated site of Roger Williams's trading post at Cocumscussoc (Smith's Castle). Although Samuel Gorton achieved great influence in Narragansett councils, Williams is better remembered as the frontier diplomat whose statecraft helped keep the peace as increasingly overbearing New England magistrates repeatedly demanded Narragansett submission to English authority.

Peace ended for the Narragansetts, as it did for most other New England Algonquians, when King Philip's War broke out in 1675. Initially neutral, the people of Narragansett country were forced into the conflict when New Englanders attacked and destroyed their fort in the Great Swamp during the fall of 1675. Shortly thereafter, English soldiers and their Indian allies hunted down, killed, or captured Narragansetts across New England. Nearly every Narragansett sachem died in battle or was executed by English authorities by the time the fighting stopped in Southern New England in 1676.

European records indicate that as few as 100 people remained in the Narragansett country at the end of the war. Believing that this figure is far too low, modern Narragansett people agree that English authorities subsequently appropriated all lands in Narragansett country (J.B. Brown 1990). Survivors known to provincial authorities were forced to bind themselves out as indentured servants for various periods of time. Not all Narragansett submitted to this fate. Many fled from New England. Others joined Niantics who had stayed neutral or actively supported Connecticut settlers against their Indian enemies during the war. As the years passed, most Eastern Niantics, led by a succession of sachems named Ninigret, came to be known as Narragansetts themselves.

As elsewhere in New England, mortuary locales comprise the overwhelming majority of known 17th-century archeological sites in Narragansett country. Several, such as the early 17th-century West Ferry site on Conanicut Island and the more recently excavated late 17th-century RI-1000 site, have provided extraordinarily detailed information on Narragansett social life, mortuary customs, trade, spiritual beliefs, and patterns of health and disease (Kelley, Barrett, and Saunders 1987; Kelley, Sledzik, and Murphy 1987; Nassaney 1989; Simmons 1970; Turnbaugh 1984).

Two properties, Samuel Gorton's housesite and the nominated Cocumscussoc site, have the potential to yield significant information on 17th-century intercultural relations in Narragansett country. Other data recovered from archeological deposits at the Fort Island, Queen's Fort, and RI-1696 sites reveal important information on Narragansett life of the period. Glass beads, redware, European white clay pipes, and metal fragments, for example, have been found with Shantok ware ceramics, triangular chipped stone projectile points, and other aboriginal materials within hearths, pits, middens, and post mold patterns associated with living floors at the Fort Island site on Block Island. Although historic documents allude to the existence of a palisaded walled enclosure and wampum production at this site, no such evidence has yet been unearthed.

The Eighteenth Century

As mentioned earlier, many survivors of the King Philip's War from Narragansett country joined with Eastern Niantics led by a succession of chiefs named Ninigret during the last quarter of the 17th-century. Living together in small communities located in southwestern Rhode Island, these people came to collectively refer to themselves as Narragansetts by the century's end. As in neighboring Massachusetts, provincial authorities formally supervised Narragansett community life. Acknowledging British sovereignty, Narragansett people continued to govern themselves through a sachem and council.

In 1709, Ninigret II exchanged all remaining Indian lands within Rhode Island for a 64-square-mile reservation around Charlestown. Nearby colonists soon pressed Narragansett people to sell or lease much of this land. Angered by the lies and strong-arm tactics used by settlers, they successfully petitioned the Rhode Island General Assembly to annul all sales

of reservation lands in 1713. Four years later, provincial authorities appointed three overseers to administer reservation lands for the tribe.

These overseers rarely intervened in tribal affairs. Most Narragansetts, for example, held fast to traditional spiritual beliefs. Although Rhode Island officials encouraged conversion, none attempted to force Christianity upon the Narragansett community. The Narragansetts themselves began to accept the new religion when Joseph Park, a minister inspired by the Great Awakening, started preaching on the reservation in 1733. Large numbers of Narragansett people subsequently joined his congregation, located near the reservation in Westerley, Rhode Island.

In 1745, many of these converts joined the first Christian congregation established within the reservation. The founder of this church, Samuel Niles, was the first of many ordained Indian ministers to serve the Narragansett community. In 1750, Niles's followers built a wooden frame church. The building quickly became the focal point of reservation life. A schoolhouse was subsequently built at Cockumpaug Pond in 1766.

Most Narragansetts made their living by farming, fishing, sheep raising, and lumbering during these years. Many also hired themselves out as wage laborers. And more than a few Narragansett men signed on to whalers or merchantmen as sailors.

Sales of large tracts of land satisfying debts incurred by sachems George and Thomas Ninigret divided the Narragansett community during the 1740s and 1750s. These and other sales resulted in the loss of much of the best reservation lands by 1759. Unable to make a living on what remained, many Narragansetts left their shrinking reservation to join Indian communities on the New Jersey coast or Long Island. More than a few of these people ultimately joined the Brothertown movement.

Organized during the 1760s by missionaries of Indian-descent such as Mohegan minister Samson Occom, Brothertown leaders devoted themselves to removing Christian Indians from what they regarded as the corrupting influences of neighboring colonists to new homes among other Indians along the western frontier. Many Narragansetts subsequently joined Montauks, Mohegans, and other New England Indians at lands in New York set aside for their use by the Oneidas near their towns at New Stockbridge nearby Brothertown. Remaining there through the turbulent years following the War of Independence, most of these people finally were forced to move farther west during the early decades of the 19th-century. Today, descendants of many of these Brothertown people live on the Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation in north-central Wisconsin.

The Narragansett Indian Reservation, dissolved by the state of Rhode Island in 1880 and reestablished by the Federal government in 1985, is listed as a historic district in the National Register of Historic Places. The sites of the 1750 church and 1766 schoolhouse are among the many nationally significant properties located within the reservation. Recent

surveys have located foundation walls and European goods at sites RI-1689. RI-1691, RI-1696, and RI-1827 within the bounds of the 1709 Charlestown Reservation (McBride 1990b and 1990c). These sites, no longer in Indian hands, may contain evidence of 18th-century Narragansett wigwams, frame houses, and activity areas.

Sources

Roger Williams's linguistic and ethnographic treatise on Narragansett culture, "A Key into the Language of America" (1643), is the single best ethnography of historic Southern New England Algonquian culture (R. Williams 1973). Williams's letters, which contain much of interest on life and events in Narragansett country, recently have been edited and published (LaFantasie 1988). Important syntheses of 17th-century Narragansett archeology, ethnohistory, and oral literature appear in publications by Paul R. Campbell and Glenn W. LaFantasie (1978), Paul A. Robinson (1990), and William S. Simmons (1970, 1978, and 1986).

No general archeological survey has thus far identified or evaluated 18th-century Narragansett archeological properties on or off the modern reservation. A number of ethnohistoric studies on Narragansett life during this period have been undertaken in recent years. The more useful of these include studies by Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978), Robinson (1990), and Simmons (1978).

Inventoried archeological properties located in Narragansett Country dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
McCluskey	Block Island, RI	1500s		good	McBride 1989
West Ferry	Jamestown, RI	1620-1660			Simmons 1970
Fort Ninigret	Washington Co, RI	1620-1680	X		Salwen & Mayer 1978
Cocumscussoc	Washington Co, RI	1637-			P. Robinson 1989; Rubertone 1989; Rubertone & Fitts 1990; 1991
RI-1000	North Kingston, RI	1650-1670			Kelley, et al 1987; P. Robinson, et al 1985; Turnbaugh 1984
Jireh Bull Blockhouse	South Kingston, RI	1657-1700	X		Zannieri 1983
Devil's Foot Cemetery	Washington Co, RI	-1672	X	good	Hebert 1983
Fort Island	Block Island, RI	late 1600s		good	McBride 1989
Apponaug Burial	Apponaug, RI	1600s			Chapin 1927
Charlestown Burial	Charlestown, RI	1600s			Chapin 1927
Queen's Fort	Washington Co, RI	1600s	X	good	Cole 1980
Westerly Burial	Westerly, RI	1600s			Chapin 1927
Samuel Gorton Housesite	Warwick, RI	1648-1675			Freedman & Pagoulatos 1989
RI-1696	Charlestown, RI	1600-1700s		good	McBride 1990c
RI-1689	Charlestown, RI	mid-1700s		good	McBride 1990b

RI-1691	Charlestown, RI	mid-1700s	good	McBride 1990b
RI-1696	Charlestown, RI	late 1700s	good	McBride 1990c
RI-1827	Charlestown, RI	late 1700s	good	McBride 1990c
Narragansett Indian Reservation	Charlestown, RI	1709-present	X	Boissevain 1973

EASTERN CONNECTICUT

The Sixteenth Century

Few sites clearly associated with protohistoric Indian life in Eastern Connecticut current are known. Existing data indicate that people living in and around the Thames River valley began making distinctive terminal Windsor phase collared clay pots known as Niantic or Hackney Pond wares sometime during the late 14th-century. Although permanent settlements dating to the century preceding intensive contact have not yet been systematically excavated in the area, artifacts recovered from small camps in the nominated Mashantucket Pequot Indian Reservation suggest that Indian people living between Rhode Island and the Connecticut River took few objects of European origin with them during hunting trips into the upland interiors of the region during the 1500s.

The Seventeenth Century

Identification of the Pequot Indians on the 1614 Adriaen Block map represents the earliest known written mention of an Eastern Connecticut Indian community by name in the European documentation. Block's map locates the Pequots within their historic heartland between the Thames and Mystic River valleys. Subsequent records indicate that the Pequots stood at the center of a network of Coastal Algonquian affiliates stretching across Eastern Connecticut and adjacent portions of Long Island when Dutch and English settlers began penetrating the region during the late 1620s. Although direct records presently are lacking, scholars believe that as many as 30,000 people may have been living in this area at the time.

Scholars continue to debate the origins of the Pequots and argue about the exact nature of their relationships with their neighbors. Investigators contrasting the name of one of their affiliates, the Mohegans, with Mahican people in New York, long believed that the Pequots were recent immigrants to New England. Recent studies, such as Ives Goddard's linguistic analyses contrasting the Mahican and Pequot language and archeological analyses conducted by Bert Salwen, Lorraine Williams, and Kevin McBride tracing temporal, spatial, and stylistic distributions of Hackney Pond ceramics associated with late protohistoric Pequot occupations indicate that Pequot culture developed within its historic locale in late prehistoric times (Goddard 1978a; McBride 1990e; Salwen 1969; L. Williams 1972). These and other studies

further show that the Pequots and their neighbors to the north and west were closely related to other Indian people living on Eastern Long Island and the Connecticut River valley.

Studies of written records and oral traditions also reveal that Pequots exerted often-resented influence over these and other nearby Southern New England Algonquian tribes to the north and west during the early decades of the 17th-century. Many of these documents record Pequot levies of large contributions of wampum and other goods on unwilling neighbors. Other records document Pequot attacks on recalcitrant contributors. Such conduct helped earn Pequots a reputation for bellicosity which English settlers did little to discourage. Even today, as modern Pequots trace the etymology of their tribal name to a word for "ally", many people still accept early colonial translations of the word as "Destroyers." Such a reputation was doubtless encouraged by Pequots anxious to control tributaries, influence policies of diffident affiliates eager to align themselves with what they at first regarded as less overbearing Dutch and English traders and settlers moving to the region during the 1630s, and deter aggressive settlers intent upon dominating or extirpating powerful Indian rivals.

Written records indicate that major Pequot settlements such as the Mystic Fort consisted of large numbers of circular and oblong bark or grass-mat covered sapling-framed houses located within circular timber palisade walls. Providing a measure of security against enemies using traditional native Northeastern military tactics, such settlements became death-traps when attacked by European adversaries intent upon destroying entire communities and enslaving survivors. Between 300 and 600 Pequot people, for instance, may have been killed by during the attack on the Mystic Fort during the height of the Pequot War in 1637.

Largely precipitated by competition between Connecticut and Massachusetts for Pequot lands, the Pequot war devastated the Pequot people and their allies. Other Indians aided the colonists. Many Mohegans, an independent-minded group of more northerly Pequot neighbors, and large numbers of Narragansett people participated in the Mystic Fort assault. Mohawks responding to English pleas for assistance killed hundreds of Pequots fleeing west after the Mystic Fort attack. Aided by their Indian friends, English troops relentlessly hunted down Pequot people throughout New England. Most Pequots taken prisoner were enslaved. Some 200 of these captives were parcelled out to English settlers moving onto appropriated Pequot lands. More than a few were transported to places like Bermuda, where modern descendants still retain the memory of their Pequot heritage (V. Mason 1938). Most surviving Pequots were divided among former Indian enemies and tributaries. Several became Montauk or Narragansett servants. Others were forced to settle among Uncas's Mohegans as they moved into and claimed their portion of the Pequot heartland.

Most Pequots did not remain slaves for long. Many assimilated into colonial society or joined Mohegan, Montauk, or Narragansett communities. Other Pequots refused to give up their traditional identities. Most of these people gradually coalesced into two communities. One of these, later known as Western Pequots, managed to establish small settlements under

English supervision at Nameag near New London, Connecticut soon after the end of the Pequot War. Led by Robin Cassasinamon, many of these people moved to the 500 acre Noank Reservation community in Groton in 1651. Another tract containing from 2,000 to 3,000 acres was reserved for their use at Mashantucket, to the north of Groton in the town of Ledyard. This latter community became the major focal point of Western Pequot life after most people living at Noank moved there in 1721.

The other community, known as the Eastern Pequots, gradually moved to the Stonington reservation established by Connecticut authorities in 1683. Originally containing 500 acres, Eastern Pequot people continue to live in and around this reservation on the eastern shore of Long Pond in Lantern Hill, Connecticut.

Several archeological properties are associated with 17th-century Pequot life. Recent tests have located deposits associated with the Mystic Fort destroyed in 1637 (McBride 1990a). Other sites containing diagnostic Hackney Pond pottery, such as Aljen Heights and the Poquetanuck Cove Site in the Calvin Main Site Complex, also have been identified. Most recently, a cemetery containing at least 60 burials accompanied by large numbers of aboriginal and European textiles, iron tools, earthenware, and other trade goods, was excavated on the western shores of Long Pond within the late 17th-century bounds of the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation (McBride 1990e). The many sites within the reservation's present boundaries represent the single most complete record of Pequot life of the period.

Mohegan territory embraces the upper Thames River drainage. Mohegans first appeared in European records as closely related Pequot tributaries during the early 1600s. Their population probably did not exceed 5,000 before disease and warfare reduced their numbers to less than 1,000 just before the Pequot War.

Led by Uncas, the Mohegan people achieved independence from Pequot domination by aiding English colonists against the Pequots in 1637. Their population subsequently swelled with the addition of Pequot slaves and other immigrants to nearly 2,500 following the end of the conflict. Epidemic disease, incessant warfare with the Narragansetts, and outmigration later reduced their numbers to fewer than 1,000 on the eve of King Philip's War. Although Uncas's alliance prevented English settlers from attacking Mohegan communities during the war, many Mohegan men were killed fighting other Indians before the conflict ended in Connecticut in 1676.

Uncas and the Mohegans carefully cultivated their position as New England's closest Indian allies throughout the remaining years of the century. Uncas provided a constant stream of information on real and supposed Indian plots and conspiracies against English settlers. In return, settlers made Mohegans subject to provincial law and maintained close trade relations.

The Mohegan position as English allies did not prevent settlers from trying to take their lands. Although they continually resisted incursions into their territories, colonists managed to buy or lease most Mohegan lands by the time Uncas died in 1683. The struggle between local colonists and provincial authorities over title to these lands stretched well into the following century. Controversies spawned by the land issue split the Mohegan community into rival factions supporting one or another colonial contender. Such divisions deeply affected Mohegan life throughout the remaining years of the colonial era.

The Eighteenth Century

Pequot cultural developments during the 1700s largely paralleled those occurring elsewhere in Southern New England. Pequot life initially continued to center around the small Noank, Stonington, and Mashantucket reservation communities first established by Connecticut authorities during the preceding century. As mentioned earlier, Western Pequot people living at Noank moved to Mashantucket in 1721. The remaining two reservations subsequently dwindled in size as the declining Pequot population was unable to prevent colonists from settling on their lands. Most of the best acreage was leased or rented to settlers by mid-century. Much land was purchased outright. Many colonists gradually managed to acquire title to their lease holdings. By 1761, for example, more than half of the original Mashantucket Reservation was owned by non-Indians. Trespassing settlers hunted or cut timber upon remaining reservation lands without regard for either Indians or the land itself.

Epidemic disease repeatedly struck Pequot communities throughout the 18th-century. Other loses were suffered when men sailing off to sea on whalers, merchantmen, and warships or recruited into provincial armies to fight the French failed to return. Pequot population plummeted. Increasing numbers moved away from Mashantucket and Stonington as the century wore on. Many settled at mission communities established at Skatekook, Connecticut, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and Shekomeko, New York, during the 1730s and 1740s. Large numbers ultimately moved to Brothertown Movement mission settlements on the Oneida Reservation in New York established at New Stockbridge in 1785 and nearby Brothertown in 1788.

Although the population of both Pequot reservations continued to decline throughout the next 150 years, hundreds of Pequot people remained in and around Connecticut. Reestablishment of the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation has resulted in an unprecedented ingathering of Pequot people from as far away as California. Today, several hundred Pequot people make their homes at Mashantucket.

The Mashantucket Pequot Reservation also contains the most extensive known body of archeological evidence relating to 18th-century Pequot life. Many stone house foundations and other deposits associated with the community's extensive and long lost Indiantown settlement have been located during recent surveys. These and other surveys have provided

documentation supporting NHL nomination of the Mashantucket Pequot Indian Reservation Archeological District in this theme study. Grass and bark textiles, a quartzite pestle, shell beads, and other materials unearthed at recent salvage excavations at the earlier mentioned Long Pond cemetery site suggest that Pequots continued to use certain traditional artifacts into the 18th-century (McBride 1990e).

Mohegan people shared similar experiences. Like their Pequot neighbors, Mohegan settlements, economic activities, and spiritual beliefs came to closely resemble those practiced by nearby non-Indians. Like their Pequot neighbors, many Mohegans constructed wooden frame buildings upon stone foundations in the English manner. And, although Uncas expressed life-long hostility to Christianity, many Mohegan people joined one or another Protestant sect during the years following his death in 1683. Many of these converts subsequently became prominent ministers. One, the already noted Mohegan theologian Samson Occom, achieved worldwide fame for his oratory, piety, and devotion. Funds gathered for Indian education during his 1765-1767 speaking tour of Great Britain were used to finance the creation of Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire. Ironically, few Indians received education at Dartmouth during the colonial era. Instead, those Indians educated by Dartmouth's founder Eleazar Wheelock continued to be separately instructed in Moor's Indian School in western Connecticut.

Mohegan communities at Pamechaug and Massapeag comprised from 4,000 to 5,000 acres of land along the Thames River between Groton and Norwich at the beginning of the 18th-century. A portion of this land, originally purchased by John Mason and his associates during the 1640s and 1650s, had been reconveyed to the Mohegans "in perpetuity" by Mason in 1671. None of this land was ever formally set aside as a reservation by provincial or local officials.

This did not prevent the provincial government from exercising control over Mohegan lands and lives. An ordinance passed by the Connecticut legislature in 1725 required all Indians living in Connecticut to accept provincial sovereignty. All land conveyances, marriages, and other legal actions involving Mohegan people subsequently fell under the jurisdiction of the governor and council.

Disagreements and other divisions split the Mohegan community throughout the century. Different parts of the Mohegan community supported rival claimants to the tribal sachemship on several occasions. Sectarian disputes divided adherents of different Protestant denominations. Most seriously, the Mohegan community was divided into two camps supporting one or the other earlier mentioned contending colonial factions claiming Mohegan lands. One of these factions, known as "Native Rights Men," based their claim upon Uncas's conveyance of jurisdiction over Mohegan lands to John Mason in 1659. The other, supporting the claims of the provincial government, claimed sole control of Mohegan lands. These factions, and their Indian supporters, fought over this issue until a Royal Commission finally threw out the "Native Rights" claim in 1771.

Shortly thereafter, as the New England colonies drifted towards war with Great Britain, most Mohegans supporting the British began to move to Oneida country around the already mentioned communities at New Stockbridge and Brothertown, New York. Occom, a founder of the Brothertown Movement and an active supporter of the defeated "Native Rights" faction, traveled back and forth between New York and Connecticut before moving his family to the new settlement in 1784. After his death in 1792, Occom's followers ultimately were forced from Oneida country onto a road into exile that finally ended in Wisconsin. There, modern descendants of the Brothertown settlers live with descendants of exiled North Atlantic Indian people in the Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation.

Many Mohegans chose to remain in the Thames River Valley. Although Mohegan lands ultimately were divided into individual allotments, the remainder, totalling nearly 3,000 acres, remained under community control. Much of this land was sold to non-Indians as increasing numbers of Mohegan people left Connecticut during the 19th-century. Today, most descendants of those Mohegans who stayed in Connecticut live in and around the towns of Uncasville and Montville.

Sources

Studies conducted by archeologists Kevin A. McBride, Bert Salwen, and Lorraine Williams provide the most balanced and comprehensive treatment of 17th-century Pequot affairs (McBride 1990a and 1990d; Salwen 1969; L. Williams 1972). Extensive information on Pequot archeology, ethnohistory, and oral tradition is furnished in a recently published set of articles first presented at a major symposium on Pequot history hosted by the Mashantucket community on October 23-24, 1987 (Hauptman and Wherry 1990). Useful summaries of early Pequot-Indian relations may be seen in De Forest (1853), Jennings (1975), Salisbury (1982a), Salwen (1978), and Vaughan (1979). Four of the most important English accounts of the Pequot War have been compiled together in Orr (1897).

Findings from Long Pond and the Mashantucket Archeological District provide materials extensively documenting many presently poorly understood aspects of 18th-century Pequot life (McBride 1990d and 1990e). Other important information on 18th-century Pequot archeology, ethnohistory, and oral tradition may be found in the earlier mentioned Hauptman and Wherry (1990) sourcebook.

Many of the sources listed for the Pequots contain documentary information outlining much of what is presently known of Mohegan life during the 17th-century. Intact and well-preserved cultural resources associated with several occupation areas and at least three episodes of palisade construction excavated at the nominated Fort Shantok site, for their part, provide some of the most extensive bodies of archeological information known for any 17th-century Indian property in the North Atlantic region.

A considerable body of research has been devoted to 18th-century Mohegan ethnohistory. John W. DeForest's 1851 "History of the Indians of Connecticut" remains the most comprehensive source on the subject. Blodgett (1935) has written a detailed biography of Samson Occom. And more recently, ethnohistorian Laurie Weinstein has produced several papers on 18th-century affairs at Mohegan (Weinstein 1989 and 1990).

Little clearly identifiable archeological evidence of 18th-century Indian life has thus far been found in Mohegan territory. Archeological excavations conducted by the late Bert Salwen and his students at the nominated Fort Shantok site have uncovered evidence of limited 18th-century Indian occupation. Small numbers of diagnostic artifacts dating to the early 1700s have been found within three features. The excellent preservation of known deposits at this locale indicates that other 18th-century materials may yet be found in unexcavated portions of the site.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Eastern Connecticut dating to the historic contact period include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Mashantucket Archeological District	Ledyard, CT	1500s-pres	X	excel	McBride 1990d
Aljen Heights	Ledyard, CT	1600s		dest	CAS
Calvin Main Complex	Ledyard, CT	1600s		dest	CAS
Davis Farm	Groton Long Pt, CT	1600s		good	McBride 1990d
Harrison's Landing	New London, CT	1600s		good	CAS
Stoddard's Cove	Ledyard, CT	1600s		dest	CAS
Fort Shantok	Montville, CT	1635-1750	X		Salwen 1966; L. Williams 1972
Pequot Fort	Groton, CT	-1637	X	good	McBride 1990a
Long Pond	Ledyard, CT	1660-1720		dist	McBride 1990e
Trumbull Airport	Groton, CT	undated		dest	CAS

THE LOWER CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY AND THE HOUSATONIC DRAINAGE

The Sixteenth Century

Although many undated deposits found along the lower Connecticut River and the Housatonic Valley may date to the 1500s, the few glass beads found with aboriginal stone tools and pottery within the remains of small campsites at the Beaver Brook, Fielding Rock Shelter, and Nick's Niche sites in and around the town of Haddam along the lower Connecticut River valley represent the only presently clearly identifiable evidence of 16th-century Indian life in the area. Despite the lack of direct evidence, most archeologists

believe that native people living along both rivers were generally living like their protohistoric Pequot, Eastern Long Island, and Munsee neighbors when they acquired their first goods of European origin.

The Seventeenth Century

Unlike their neighbors to the north and east, native people living along the lower reaches of the Connecticut River and the Housatonic Valley never regarded themselves as members of a single community during the historic contact period. Divided into small communities situated along stretches of riverbanks at various locales throughout the area, most of these people were dominated in one way or another by the Pequots and other more powerful neighbors during the 1600s.

Sometimes identified as speakers of an Eastern Algonquian dialect known as Quiripi (a version of Quinnipiac, a tribe living around New Haven), the Indians of the lower Connecticut River and Housatonic Valley and their Pequot overlords collectively may have numbered more 30,000 people at the beginning of the 17th-century. Little is known about Quiripi speaking people. Those living in portions of the Lower Connecticut River valley first colonized by Dutch and English settlers during the 1630s and 1640s, such as the Hammonosetts, the Podunks, the Sequins, the Tankitekes, the Wangunks, and the Wepawaugs, are little more than names on European maps and documents (De Forest 1851). Archeological and archival data provide somewhat more information on the lives of people from more remote upland portions of the Housatonic and Connecticut River valleys (Orcutt 1882; Wojciechowski 1985).

Nearly nothing is known about Quiripi language or lifeways. Many communities in this area were all but obliterated by epidemic disease or warfare before Europeans moved into the region. People surviving these disasters generally moved to refugee or reservation communities established at Quinnipiac (near New Haven, Connecticut) the Tunxis settlements at Farmington, Connecticut, Woronoco (the Guida site at Westfield, Massachusetts), Norwottuck (the Bark Wigwams site in Northampton, Massachusetts), Fort Hill (a fortified town built for Agawam Indian people in Springfield, Massachusetts by local settlers in 1666), and other locales. Metal tools, copper or brass triangular or conical projectile points, gun parts and flints, glass beads, European white clay tobacco smoking pipes, and other objects of European origin have been found with aboriginal ceramics and chipped stone triangular projectile points at all of these locales. An aboriginally produced and decorated clay pot and cup evidently modelled after European prototypes have been found with a particularly broad assortment of European and native materials at the Fort Hill locale (H.A. Wright 1895; Young 1969).

Most sites dating to this period have been found in the lower reaches of the Housatonic and Connecticut Valleys. Iron tools, brass triangular projectile points, glass beads, European white clay tobacco smoking pipes, or other objects of European origin have been found with

quartz or other locally obtained lithics and Hackney Pond or Niantic phase aboriginal wares in radiocarbon dated deposits at the Coudert Ledge and Bluddee Rock sites. Smaller radiocarbon dated contemporary sites, like the Bennett Rock Shelter, Cedar Lake, Costa's Cove, the Devil's Hopyard Rock Shelter, and Kaiser I, contain mixed deposits of European and aboriginal artifacts indicative of briefer occupations. Although these and the other smaller sites inventoried below have the potential to contain significant archeological resources, most probably represent more or less ephemeral occupations. Their distribution, moreover, probably more closely reflects site survey priorities and patterns of site destruction and survival than actual 17th-century settlement patterns.

Although many sites dating to this period are located along portions of the Connecticut and Housatonic Rivers in western Massachusetts, relatively few have been reported. Dismayed by the pillaging of reported sites in Pittsfield and the central Connecticut Valley intervales by a particularly voracious group of looters, archeologists working in these areas have sought to protect surviving sites by not reporting their existence in formal publications (Dincauze 1991).

The Eighteenth Century

Like their neighbors, most Indian people in the Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys adapted many British customs to traditional lifeways during the 18th-century. Most gradually adopted British tools, speech, and religion as the century wore on. Many ultimately embraced aspects of British housing and houselife. Such influences became pervasive in even the most traditional communities. Nowhere is this more poignantly illustrated than in Ezra Stiles's 1761 sketches of the interiors of mat-walled Western Niantic wigwams. Although both houses are constructed in the traditional manner, each contains British furniture and housewares.

As elsewhere, Indian people living in the Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys were forced to deal with foreign diseases, wars, laws, avarice, and intolerance. Epidemics sweeping through their communities killed or debilitated hundreds. Many men serving with colonial troops in wars with the French never returned. Large numbers of Stockbridge men died fighting for the patriot cause during the War for Independence. Expansionistic settlers, discriminatory laws, and unsympathetic courts dispossessed Indian families of their homes and belongings with depressing regularity throughout the period.

Unlike most Southern New England Algonquians, most Indians living in the Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys continued to live in small autonomous communities throughout the 18th-century. Most gradually settled in colonial backlots or in remote or unproductive areas unwanted by colonists. Colonial chroniclers documented the presence of small settlements near Niantic, Farmington, Bridgeport, New Haven, Danbury, Kent, and other towns. Several of these, such as Quinnipiac near New Haven and the Housatonic River communities at Skatekook (Kent), Turkey Hill (Derby), Coram Hill (Huntington), and Golden Hill

(Bridgeport), were set aside as provincial reservations. Indian people continued to occupy other areas after selling them to non-Indians. Few of these communities accommodated more than 50 inhabitants at one time.

Most of these people could not make a living on the small plots allotted them in these tiny communities. Some found occasional employment in nearby towns or farms. Forced to become itinerants, most took up a wandering life. Many Housatonic people, for example, traveled across the region from Quebec to Massachusetts to Pennsylvania. In the Hudson Valley, many moved to Indian communities in Wappinger and Esopus country. When in northern New Jersey, they frequently were called Pomptons or Opings. More peripatetic people travelling farther north and west from the Housatonic and Connecticut Valleys were lumped together with other eastern Indians as "Mahicans" by the English and "Loups" (Wolves) by the French.

Many people from Western Connecticut became prominent in regional affairs of the period. A man named Taphow, first mentioned in colonial documents as a prominent leader of Indian people living around Pequannock country between the Connecticut and Housatonic drainages, for example, became the most influential Indian leader in northern New Jersey during the early decades of the 18th-century (Grumet 1988). Another man from the area, Gideon Mauwehu, came to be even more widely known as the founder of the Skatekook Connecticut Indian community that endures to the present day.

The itinerant predilections of many members of these tiny communities led to increasing incidences of intermarriage with foreigners. More than a few married Indian people from other places. Others married European or African neighbors. Although many children from such mixed marriages chose to maintain their tribal affiliations, depopulation, land-loss, and poverty compelled growing numbers of Indians to move into non-Indian communities.

Large numbers of Connecticut Indians joined other Southern New England Algonquians moving to Protestant missions established on or near the Housatonic River at Skatekook, Connecticut, Shekomeko, New York, and Stockbridge, Massachusetts, during the 1730s and 1740s. Relentless pressure applied by neighboring settlers forced all Connecticut Indians to sell, lease, or rent nearly all of their remaining lands by mid-century. Dispirited and impoverished, most joined the Brothertown Movement and moved to Oneida country after suffering grievous losses during the War of Independence. Although some moved back to Connecticut, most ultimately were forced into westward exile where their descendants remain today.

Sources

Significant ethnohistoric studies of historic contact period Indian life in the area include Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978), DeForest (1851), Orcutt (1882), and Wojciechowski (1985). McBride's (1984) analysis of his extensive site survey along the lower Connecticut

River Valley summarizes much of what is known about the archeology of historic contact in the area. Grumet (1988) details Taphow's career in Connecticut and New Jersey. McBride (1985) presents a highly detailed analysis using extensive ethnohistorical documentation to identify and assess the significance of the limited amount of materials dating to the 18th-century excavated at the Little Pootatuck Brook site. Small amounts of other 18th-century European materials have been found in Indian burials within the Indian Hill Avenue Historic District. Other presently uninventoried resources dating to the period probably are located within the boundaries of Skatekook (today spelled Schaghticoke) and other surviving Connecticut Indian communities.

Stone heap features occur abundantly in the area. Inundated lines of stones found in the Housatonic River are believed to represent historic Indian fish weirs (Coffin 1947). Other stone heaps found at intervals in woodlands are thought to represent offering sites or boundary markers (E. Butler 1946).

Perhaps the most exciting finds in recent years have come to light at the Lighthouse site in Barkhamstead. Large amounts of European goods have been found in and near stone foundations of a multi-racial community established sometime around 1740. Documentary records indicate that the Indian, African, and European inhabitants of this community built as many as 40 houses at the site before moving to other locales by the 1860s. Analysis of materials excavated from this site will provide a unique glimpse into life in an early North Atlantic multi-racial community (Feder and Park 1989).

Inventoried archeological properties located in the Lower Connecticut and Housatonic River Valleys dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Beaver Brook	Haddam, CT	late 1500s		good	McBride 1984
Fielding Rock Shelter	Haddam, CT	late 1500s		good	McBride 1984
Nick's Niche	Haddam, CT	late 1500s		good	McBride 1984
Clark Creek	Haddam, CT	1600s?		good	McBride 1984
Ballymahack	Hampton, CT	1600s		good	McBride 1984
Davison Farm	East Haddam, CT	1600s		fair	McBride 1984
Stafford Brook	Woodstock, CT	1600s		good	McBride 1984
Costa's Cove	Lyme, CT	early 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Coudert Ledge	Lyme, CT	early 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Palmer	Westfield, MA	early 1600s		fair	Bradley & Childs 1987; E. Johnson & Mahlstedt 1985
Turkey Hill	Haddam, CT	early 1600s		dist	McBride 1984
Guida Farm	Westfield. MA	1600-1675			Byers & Rouse 1960
Tunxis Village	Farmington, CT	mid 1600s			Feder 1981
Bark Wigwams	Northampton, MA	-1654			E. Johnson & Bradley 1987
Little Pootatuck Brook	Southbury, CT	1661-1761			McBride 1985
Fort Hill/Long Hill	Springfield, MA	1666-1675			Pretola 1985; H.A. Wright 1895; Young 1969

Bashan Road Rock Shelter	East Haddam, CT	late 1600s		fair	McBride 1984
Bennett Rock Shelter	Old Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Bluddee Rock	Old Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Cedar Lake Rock Shelter	Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Cold Spring	Lyme, CT	late 1600s		dist	McBride 1984
Kaiser I	Old Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Loctite	Old Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Lord Cove	Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Pearl Harbor	Canterbury, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Seldon Neck	Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Snell	East Haddam, CT	late 1600s		fair	McBride 1984
Whaleback	Old Lyme, CT	late 1600s		good	McBride 1984
Brainard Rock Shelter	East Haddam, CT	1600s-1700s		good	McBride 1984
Indian Hill Avenue	Portland, CT	1600s-1700s	X	dist	CAS; Clouette 1983
Devil's Hopyard Rock Shelter	East Haddam, CT	1700s		good	McBride 1984
Tubbs	East Lyme, CT	early 1700s		dest	CAS
Mission House NHL	Stockbridge, MA	1739-1804	X		NPS 1987
Lighthouse	Barkhamstead, CT	1740-1860s		good	Feder & Park 1989
Podunk Complex	Hartford Co, CT	1750-1799			M. Spiess 1960
Bartholomew Field	Old Lyme, CT	undated			McBride 1984
Beach	Branford, CT	undated		good	McBride 1984
Beaver Brook Mt	Danbury, CT	undated			CAS
Beckett Shelter	Lyme, CT	undated		dist	CAS
Bridgeport Gas Works	Bridgeport, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Burnham Cemetery	South Windsor, CT	undated		dest	CAS
C Reynolds	Branford, CT	undated		good	CAS
Chester Fairgrounds	Chester, CT	undated			CAS
Clinton Nursery	Clinton, CT	undated		fair	CAS
Copperhead Rock Shelter	East Haddam, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Early Rock Shelter	East Haddam, CT	undated		good	McBride 1984
Easton Rock Shelter	Easton, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Fort Hill (Chester)	Chester, CT	undated			CAS
Fort Hill (Farmington)	Farmington, CT	undated		fair	CAS
Fort River	Hadley, MA	undated			Young 1969
Goose Hill	Chester, CT	undated			CAS
Griswold Circle	Old Lyme, CT	undated		good	CAS; J. Pfeiffer 1982
Hackney Pond	Haddam, CT	undated		good	CAS
Hotchkiss Grove	Branford, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Indian River Dam	Westport, CT	undated		dest	CAS; E. Rogers 1942
Kog's Hill	Manchester, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Kreiger Brook	Haddam, CT	undated		fair	CAS
Manstan Rock Shelter	Killingworth, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Mazur City	Haddam, CT	undated		dist	CAS
Menunketisuck	Middlesex Co, CT	undated			Russell 1942
Nehantic Rock Shelter	Lyme, CT	undated		good	McBride 1984
Olcott Farm	Manchester, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Old Wapping Cemetery	South Windsor, CT	undated		dest	CAS
Pequot Swamp	Fairfield, CT	undated		dest	CAS

Philip's Cave	Glastonbury, CT	undated	dest	CAS
Pine Orchard	Branford, CT	undated	good	CAS; Vescelius 1952
Pratt-Birches	New Milford, CT	undated	good	CAS
Rocky Neck Camp	East Lyme	undated	fair	CAS
Sandy Hook I	Newtown, CT	undated	dest	CAS
Sheldon Creek	Branford, CT	undated	dest	CAS
Shepaug Power Dam	Newtown, CT	undated	dest	CAS
Snow Hill	Willington, CT	undated	fair	CAS
Sullivan	New Milford, CT	undated	fair	CAS
Sunset Beach	Branford, CT	undated	dest	CAS
Tennis Court	Branford, CT	undated	good	McBride 1984
West Cemetery	Manchester, CT	undated	good	CAS
Ziubron Rock Shelter	East Haddam, CT	undated	good	McBride 1984

EASTERN LONG ISLAND

The Sixteenth Century

Estavao Gomes and Giovanni da Verrazzano are the first European mariners believed to have had direct contact with Indian people living at or around Eastern Long Island. Although records are scant, other Europeans are thought to have sailed along Long Island shores during the latter decades of the 1500s. Archeological evidence associated with such contacts has been identified on Block Island and nearby Connecticut. No archeological property dating to the 16th-century, however, has yet been found in Eastern Long Island.

The Seventeenth Century

As mentioned earlier, Indian people living on Eastern Long Island were culturally related to, but socially distinct from, their mainland neighbors. Written records and oral traditions affirm that most of these people briefly confederated under the leadership of Montauk chief Wyandanch during the early 1600s. Disbanding after his death in 1659, individual Eastern Long Island Indian communities generally independently pursued their own interests during the remaining years of the colonial era.

Most Indians living in Eastern Long Island at the time of contact lived in towns and villages around Peconic Bay and the outer coast of modern Suffolk County, New York. The eastern-most of these communities, Cutchogue, Montauk, and Shinnecock, shared close cultural and linguistic affiliations with neighbors from Eastern Connecticut and Narragansett country. People living at Setauket and Patchogue (known as Unchachogue or Poosepatuck), for their part, maintained close relations with Quiripi speaking people in Connecticut. Although exact

figures are lacking, the total Indian population on Eastern Long Island Algonquian may have numbered more than 5,000 people at the dawn of the 17th-century.

Each of these communities was part of a loose-knit tribal alliance known today as the Montauk Confederacy. Montauk people were the primary producers of cylindrical white and purple wampum shell beads. Used as a mnemonic record-keeping device, a diplomatic tool, or form of currency, wampum played a significant role in regional political, economic, and spiritual life. Organized for mutual defense against Pequots, Narragansetts, and others interested in controlling the wampum trade, each Eastern Long Island Indian community was led by a brother or sister of influential Montauk sachem Wyandanch. Wyandanch further secured his position as paramount sachem of the confederacy by establishing close relations with Lion Gardiner and other early English settlers moving to his territories following the end of the Pequot War. He maintained this position until his death under mysterious circumstances in 1659.

Eastern Long Island Indians managed to remain at peace with their new European neighbors through the turbulent years following Wyandanch's death. Epidemics and attacks from other Indians repeatedly devastated their communities. The wampum trade collapsed by the third quarter of the century when sufficient quantities of hard currency and paper money became available. Although wampum remained an important part of the Indian trade, colonists employing industrial processes gradually replaced Indian producers by the end of the 1600s. Responding to these and other changes, Eastern Long Island Indian people increasingly found employment as whalers and seamen. Others peddled splint baskets, herbal remedies, and other goods door to door through English towns and back settlements. More than a few, driven by poverty or the desire to hone traditional skills or develop new ones, bound themselves out as apprentices or servants.

Most Indian people living on Eastern Long Island Indians continued to live on ancestral lands during the 1600s. As elsewhere, increasing numbers began moving away as land sales and confiscations for debt or fines reduced their traditional estate. Many families moved westward to Matinecock. Others relocated north to Indian towns in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

Few deposits confidently can be dated to this century on Eastern Long Island. The nominated Fort Corchaug site, located in the town of Southold, is the most extensively studied and best preserved of known properties. Other sites dating to the period presently await evaluative testing sufficient to determine their age, cultural affiliation, and condition.

The Eighteenth Century

Indian life on 18th-century Eastern Long Island followed patterns similar to those described elsewhere in Southern New England. Many Indian people adopted British customs and married non-Indian neighbors. Most eked out a living as fisherfolk and farmers. Others

worked for non-Indians. Most were forced to accept low wages as laborers, servants, or farmhands. Although young and poor people often were bound out as apprentices or forced into indentured servitude, whaling and other shipborne commerce helped many families achieve a measure of prosperity.

As elsewhere, problems brought on by life near expanding British settlements frequently caused difficulties in Indian households. Most Indians had to sell much of their remaining land to local authorities during the first decades of the 1700s. Those refusing to live with colonists moved away. Several families, for example, moved to Skatekook, Shekomeko, and Stockbridge after 1730. Large numbers of Montauks, inspired by Samson Occom, who had worked among them for nearly 12 years between 1748 and 1760, moved to Brothertown after 1775.

Those choosing to remain in the area, for their part, had to make their homes on reservations. One reservation, the 175-acre Poosepatuck community, was set aside for the Unquachog Indians by manor lord William Smith in 1700. Suffolk County magistrates erected two other reservations. One was established for the Montauks at Easthampton. The other drew together members of the large Shinnecock community at Southampton. Portions of all of these reservations were sold off or expropriated in succeeding years. Most Montauks moved to the Shinnecock community by the end of the 19th-century. The remaining two reservations, much diminished in size, exist today at Poosepatuck and Shinnecock.

Sources

Studies by archeologists Lynn Ceci (1977), Lorraine Williams (1972), Carlyle S. Smith (1950), and Ralph S. Solecki (1950) synthesize much of the known archeological record of Eastern Long Island Indian life. Recent studies of the Montauk (G. Stone 1979), Shinnecock (Strong 1983), and Poosepatuck (Gonzalez 1986) communities survey much of the most important documentary information.

Several ethnohistorical studies document later historic contact period Indian life on Eastern Long Island. Ceci (1977) has surveyed the wampum trade. Articles examining aspects of Shinnecock life may be consulted in Stone (1983). Montauk culture history is reviewed in Stone (1979). The most complete study of the Poosepatuck community appears in Gonzalez (1986).

Excavations conducted at several archeological sites have shed further light on poorly documented aspects of Indian life in the area. Important information on 17th and 18th-century Shinnecock demography, health, disease, and material culture have been unearthed at the Pantigo Cemetery site. The Pharoah Site, situated within the Indian Fields Archaeological Complex, contains house foundations, features, and artifacts associated with a late 18th-century Montauk homestead. All known sites in the area show that most Indians

almost completely adapted European technology to their own purposes by mid-century. Each further documents patterns of cultural resilience that have enabled Indian people to endure in the region up to the present day.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Eastern Long Island dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Brushes Creek	Laurel, NY	1600s			Latham 1965
Burial Point	Easthampton, NY	1600s			Latham 1957
Montauk Fort Hill	Easthampton, NY	1600s			Johannemann 1990
Sebonac	Southampton, NY	1600s			M.R. Harrington 1924
Fort Corchaug	Cutchogue, NY	1640-1661	X	good	Solecki 1950; L. Williams 1972
Montauk Fort Hill	Easthampton, NY	1700s			Johannemann 1990
Pantigo Cemetery	Southampton, NY	1600s/1700s			Saville & Booth 1920
Pharoah Site	Easthampton, NY	late 1700s			Johannemann 1979
Cyrus Charles Cemetery	Montauk, NY	1750-1799			Schroeder & Johannemann 1985
Cusano	Suffolk Co, NY	undated			Wyatt 1990
Three Mile Harbor	Easthampton, NY	undated			Latham 1961
Wegwagonock	Sag Harbor, NY	undated		dist	W. Tooker 1896

MAHICAN COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Very little is known about the lives of people living in the upper Hudson River valley during protohistoric times. Glass beads dating from 1570 to 1625 recovered from concentrations of lithic debitage and other aboriginal cultural materials were encountered during mitigation activities along a proposed sewerline in Waterford, New York. Most of these beads represent types dated at Cameron and other sites in Oneida country to the late 1500s. Although other protohistoric sites doubtless survive in the area, the glass beads found in the Mechanicsville deposits presently constitute the only identifiable evidence of 16th-century occupation in the upper Hudson valley.

The Seventeenth Century

The Mahican heartland centered around the upper Hudson River valley when Europeans first began documenting visits to the region during the early 1600s. The term "Mahican" itself reflects changing social and cultural usages. Dutch settlers initially identified all Indians living from Lake George south to the northern Catskill escarpment as Mahicans. The term

subsequently was extended to include people from Western Abenaki country and other Algonquian speaking people living at the Schaghticoke, New York settlement established by New York governor Edmund Andros to shelter Indian refugees in 1676. By the end of the century, the terms Mahican or Mahikander frequently were used to identify most Indians living between the upper Delaware and Connecticut River valleys.

Archeological and documentary evidence indicate that people of Mahican country encountered by early European travelers shared close social and cultural affinities with their Algonquian-speaking Pocumtuck, Wappinger, and Munsee neighbors to the south and east and their Iroquois-speaking Mohawk neighbors to the west. The number of Indian people living in Mahican country probably totalled less than 5,000 people when Dutch traders established their Fort Orange trading post within the environs of modern Albany, New York in 1624.

Early Dutch chroniclers noted that most Indian residents in Mahican country resided in large fortified towns. Such settlements were necessary in the highly charged political climate dominated by trade wars and economic competition between Indian competitors in the burgeoning fur trade. Many of Mahican townsfolk subsequently were killed in wars with the Mohawks fought over control of the Fort Orange trade in 1624. Defeated and forced to relocate their main towns away from the Mohawk frontier by 1628, the Mahicans were compelled to recognize Mohawk authority and allow them free access to markets at the Dutch fort (Trigger 1971).

Many Indian people living around Fort Orange soon sold their lands to agents of Dutch patroon Kiliaen van Rensselaer in 1630 and moved away. Although most relocated farther east to Western Abenaki country, some settled as far east as Maine. No matter where they moved, most people from Mahican country were unable to find peace. Living on what ethnologist Theodore J.C. Brasser has called "the moving frontier," they generally were considered to be potentially dangerous foreigners by nearby settlers. Fights with roving English hunters and New England colonists moving up the Connecticut and Merrimack Rivers increasingly resulted in mayhem and more than a few deaths. Unable to get along with their frontier neighbors, many of these expatriates began moving back to the Hudson Valley within a few years.

Not all Indian people left Mahican country during these years. Many of these people moved south among Catskill, Wappinger, and Esopus kinsfolk. Others settled along the more northerly reaches of the Hoosic River Valley along the main trade routes leading to Quebec. No matter where they moved, they could neither escape the ravages of epidemic contagion nor avoid involvement in the seemingly interminable wars that devastated the region throughout the century. Living directly in the path of European expansion astride strategic trade routes linking New York, New France, New England, and the Trans-Appalachian region, most Indian people living in Mahican country suffered dreadfully from disease, alcohol abuse, and military attack.

Fewer than 500 Indian people were living in Mahican country when the aforementioned Southern New England Algonquian refugees fleeing from King Philip's War were resettled among them at Schaghticoke in 1676. Collectively known as Mahicans or Upper River Indians, many of these people periodically moved back and forth from Schaghticoke and other towns to New France or Acadia during the nearly continuous wars fought between France and England from 1689 to 1760. Several moved to multi-cultural communities. One of these, the Amesokanti town located along the Sandy River in Maine's Kennebec River Valley, evidently sheltered people from Mahican country from 1694 until its abandonment during the early years of Queen Anne's War. In later years, other people called Mahicans moved west into Pennsylvania and the Ohio country.

Several archeological sites in the upper Hudson valley contain deposits believed to be associated with contemporary Indian inhabitants of Mahican country. Only a few of these contain clearly associated aboriginal and European materials dating to the period. European goods dating to the 1620s and 1630s have been found with clay tobacco pipes and incised collared ceramics similar to others often found in Mohawk country at the multi-component Winney's Rift site near Saratoga, New York (Brumbach and Bender 1986). Noting "that the site as a whole appears to represent a different social and ecological adaptation than that typical of the Iroquois villages of the Late Woodland period," both scholars suggest that Winney's Rift deposits may represent remains of one of the many upper Hudson Valley locales known to have been used by Mohawk or River Indian people as fishing or hunting camps at various times during the 17th-century (Brumbach 1991).

Farther south, Rip Van Winkle site deposits contain glass beads, European white clay tobacco pipes, brass, copper, salt-glazed pottery, and other objects. Deposits excavated at Fort Crailo and Mechanicsville Road contain similar assortments of European goods. A triangular copper or brass projectile point and glass beads has been recovered on a site on Papscanee Island below Albany. Archeologists reanalyzing these and other collections believe that other sites dating to the period remain to be found.

The Eighteenth Century

European records indicate that River Indians living in Mahican country entered the 18th-century as a devastated people. A census of New York's Indian allies indicates that fully half of the 180 River Indian warriors enumerated at the beginning of King William's War in 1689 were no longer living in the province when it ended in 1697. Many of these men died in battle. Others probably were killed by the particularly virulent outbreak of smallpox that ravaged the colonial army sent against New France in 1690. Devastated by disease and demoralized by their war losses, a substantial number of other residents of Mahican country probably simply fled from New York.

Many of these people settled along the St. Lawrence Valley in New France. Others moved east toward the Merrimack River and the Acadian frontier. Still others probably traveled west to the Susquehanna and Ohio country. No matter where they moved, most of these people gradually returned to their Hudson Valley homes when peace was declared in 1698. Several rejoined families left behind in the Housatonic Valley, Dutchess County, and Catskill. Others returned to their upper Hudson River homes at Schaghticoke.

Schaghticoke was a multi-cultural community sheltering Indian immigrants from throughout New England and New France. The town straggled for several miles on both banks of the Hoosic River. Although detailed descriptions of the community have not yet been located, it probably consisted of several scattered hamlets made up of bark, log, and wooden frame houses. Schaghticoke was located on the volatile frontier between the contending colonies of New France, New York, and New England. Albany authorities, who directly administered the town, considered it the northernmost outpost shielding their province's vulnerable northern border. Massachusetts, whose dreams of western expansion were blocked by New York, saw Schaghticoke as their window to the west. Exploiting their relationship with Indian refugees from Mahican country living along the St. Lawrence, the French regarded the town as a vital source of information and smuggled supplies.

People living at Schaghticoke continually worked to play colonial adversaries off against one another. Warriors from the town patrolled the border and hired on as scouts and spies to whomever paid the best wages. They also carried the illicit trade between Albany and Quebec that continued without letup through peace and war. The steady stream of north country beaver pelts hauled to Albany by Schaghticoke men helped New York merchants circumvent attempts by their Iroquois allies to control the western fur trade. The gunpowder, lead, cloth, ironware, and other English manufactures brought up to New France proved particularly important to the people of the often blockaded and frequently poorly-provisioned French colonies dependent on imports for nearly all supplies.

Life at Schaghticoke became increasingly more difficult as years passed. Renewed warfare with France in 1703 forced many townsfolk to again abandon their homes. When they returned at the end of the fighting in 1713, they found that Albany merchants claimed the land for themselves. Outraged by the shady deals and cheating ways of their colonial overlords, many Schaghticoke people began to move away from the precariously situated frontier community. Some joined other River Indians living among the Mohawks along the Schoharie Valley southwest of Albany. Others moved south among Wappingers pursuing a wandering life between the Hudson and Delaware valleys. And more than a few moved north to St. Lawrence Indian towns at Saint Francis, Becancour, and other places.

Many Indian people still living in Mahican country moved to the Presbyterian mission founded by John Sargeant at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1736. There they took up individual lots, built frame homes, and established their own form of New England townlife. Stockbridge Indian people tilled fields and orchards, raised livestock, and operated their own

mills. Sargeant preached to his community in Mahican, taught them to read and write in English and phonetic Mahican, and oversaw the translation and printing of the bible and several tracts in their language.

Stockbridge prosperity soon attracted attention. Increasing numbers of Indians from New York and New England moved to the town. Hundreds more regularly visited the settlement. Moravian ministers established their settlements around Shekomeko in what is today eastern Columbia County in 1740. Competing Presbyterian ministers erected a short-lived competing mission nearby at Kaunameek four years later. And predictably, settlers came to get what they could.

Most Mahicans moved east to Stockbridge or west to Indian towns and Moravian missions in Pennsylvania during these years. Settlers denouncing the Moravians and their Indian converts as French spies had them evicted from the province by 1746. Some years later, powerful manor lords like Philip Philipse began to force other Mahican people off their remaining Hudson Valley lands (Handlin and Mark 1964; Nammack 1969). Allying themselves with renters resisting manorial control and represented by an articulate leader from Wappinger country named Daniel Nimham, many Mahicans challenged Philipse's claims in colonial courts. Nimham managed to take their case before the Lords of Trade in England in 1766. Referring the case back to New York's governor and Sir William Johnson, the colonial Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the region for review, their Lordships subsequently accepted their decision invalidating the Wappinger claim in 1767.

Other settlers intent on acquiring Stockbridge lands in Massachusetts managed to purchase much of the town as the Wappingers lost their case in New York. Many Stockbridge Indian people were forced to sell their property to satisfy debts. Others simply needed the money to maintain a lifestyle that became increasingly difficult to support in the changing economic climate of the town. Settlers took over the community's mills and shops. Town government passed into their hands. Rising prices, fees, taxes, and other exactions soon impoverished most Stockbridge Mahicans.

Ministers became increasingly unable to raise funds for their acolytes as revivalistic fervor generated by the Great Awakening abated. Local settlers sympathetic to the rebel cause, for their part, increasingly regarded their Indian neighbors with suspicion and growing fear as war with Great Britain began. Such fears were unfounded. Led by Daniel Nimham, nearly all Stockbridge men fought for the patriots during the war.

Not all Mahican people supported the rebels. Many Mahicans living in the west among Munsees, Iroquois, or Shawnees fought for the British. Other Mahicans living with Delawares and other eastern expatriates in Moravian missions in Pennsylvania and Ohio, for their part, tried to remain neutral during the fighting. They were not successful; more than 90 pacifist Mahican and Delaware Christian people were killed by American militia while in their custody at the Moravian settlement of Gnadenhutten, Ohio, on March 8, 1782.

The war was a disaster for people from Mahican country. Hundreds died in the fighting. The Stockbridge community suffered particularly devastating losses. Nimham and many other men leaving the town to fight for the Americans died in service from wounds or disease. Survivors returned to homes no longer their own. Unwelcome in their own community, they moved away. Most went to New Stockbridge and Brothertown in Oneida country. Others were forced to move farther north and west as American settlers flooded across the Appalachians. Those few people remaining in the region settled unobtrusively wherever they could in cities, towns, and the countryside. Although most descendants of the aboriginal people of Mahican country live in exile with Delawares and other expatriates to the north and west, many people living in the Hudson Valley continue to trace descent from the region's first inhabitants.

Sources

Studies by ethnologist Theodore J.C. Brasser (1978b) and historian Allen W. Trelease (1960) represent basic sources for Mahican ethnography and history. A comprehensive account of the Wappinger claim may be found in Nammack (1969). A comprehensive history of the Stockbridge Indian community may be found in Frazier (1992). The history of people from Western Abenaki country at Schaghticoke is examined in Calloway (1990). The Amesokanti community is discussed in a paper by Prins (1988b).

Although the general locations of many historically chronicled Indian communities in Mahican country are known, almost none have been identified archeologically. Only one structure associated with the Stockbridge Indian town, the relocated Mission House NHL, still stands. Indian mission cemeteries are preserved at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Skatekook, Connecticut, and at Shekomeko and Pine Plains, New York. Insufficient resources and the fragmentary nature of the surviving archeological record have limited efforts to more definitively locate the sites of other historic Indian communities in Mahican country.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Mahican Country dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Mechanicsville Road	Waterford, NY	1570-1625			Fisher & Hartgen 1983
Winney's Rift	Saratoga Co, NY	1620s-1630s		dist	Brumbach & Bender 1986
Fort Orange	Albany, NY	1624-1776			Huey 1988; Pena 1990
Schuyler Flatts	Colonie, NY	1642-1759	X		Huey 1985
Rip Van Winkle	Catskill, NY	1630-1660			Funk 1976
Fort Crailo	Rensselaer, NY	mid-1600s			Huey, Feister, & McEvoy 1977
Papscanee Island	Rensselaer Co, NY	1600s			Huey 1989; Manley & Florance 1978
Mission House NHL	Stockbridge, MA	1739-1804	X		NPS 1987

Bronck House Rock Shelter	Greene Co, NY	undated	W. Ritchie 1958
Little Nutten Hook	Stuyvesant, NY	undated	Funk 1976
South Cruger Island	Rensselaer Co, NY	undated	W. Ritchie 1958

MUNSEE COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Evidence of the emergence of Late Woodland lifeways within the region historically documented as the Munsee homeland first appeared in archeological site from 1,000 to 1,100 years old. Like Late Woodland people elsewhere, the original inhabitants of the area stretching from the Hudson River to the Delaware Valley followed a way of life centering upon hunting, fishing, shellfishing, and plant collecting. Evidence of plant cultivation in this region generally is scant. Noting this fact, several scholars arguing from negative evidence have suggested that Late Woodland people did not cultivate corn, beans, or squash in more coastal reaches of historic Munsee country prior to European intrusion (Ceci 1979; Becker 1987). Other analyses conducted by different scholars contest these findings (Kraft 1986; Silver 1981).

Pottery found at many locales throughout the region indicate that the inhabitants of Munsee country began crafting distinctive ceramics associated with historically documented residents of Munsee country sometime during the 14th or 15th centuries. People living in the Delaware valley generally made collared ceramic vessels decorated with incised geometric linear designs similar to those produced by Owasco people living farther north along the Hudson and Mohawk River valleys during the late 1300s. Unlike their more northerly contemporaries, who preferred to live in large fortified towns located in easily defensible uplands, most late prehistoric Indian occupants in the Upper Delaware Valley began moving into less densely occupied unfortified settlements located on well drained terraces above riverbanks.

As deposits excavated at the nominated Minisink site and other locales show, people living in these towns also began to produce new types of clay pipes, incised collared wares, tubular shell beads, and bird-shaped shell effigies. The appearance of such assemblages marks the beginning of the Minisink horizon or phase. Sites containing such assemblages are believed to represent settlements built by direct ancestors of historically chronicled Munsee Indian people (Grumet 1991; Kraft 1977 and 1978).

Indian people living farther east along the Hudson Valley began making Bowman's Brook, Overpeck series, and other coastal Munsee ceramics similar to those first appearing in sites

throughout northern and central New Jersey during the 1300s. Examples of these wares have been excavated at the nominated Ward's Point site on Staten Island and other locales in and around greater New York (Jacobson 1980; C. Smith 1950). Similar ceramic assemblages have been found at Ryders Pond, Clason's Point, and other sites in western Long Island and southeastern New York.

A number of properties believed to date to protohistoric times have been found in the Hurley Flats Complex in Marbletown, New York. Triangular brass or copper triangular projectile points and glass beads have been found with Late Woodland chipped stone tools and distinctive "ladder" motif incised collared pottery at several locales in the complex. These properties represent the only known clearly identifiable evidence of protohistoric occupation in the Hudson River Valley. Systematic excavations conducted by avocational archeologist George Van Sickle at the Wyncoop Farm/Grapes site in anticipation of its destruction by a since-cancelled road construction project have unearthed human burials, firepits, and postmolds tracing the living floor and walls of a single round-ended longhouse measuring 40' X 25' (Van Sickle 1990). This structure's configuration and size closely resembles the somewhat older longhouse postmold pattern excavated by Herbert C. Kraft at the Miller Field site in the nearby upper Delaware River valley (Kraft 1975b and 1986). Glass, copper, and cylindrical shell beads, sheet metal triangular projectile points, and metal scraps were found with stone triangular projectile points, other lithics, and Munsee series ladder motif pottery at the Wyncoop/Grapes locale. The wide range of glass bead types found in and around the housefloor date this site to the last half of the 16th-century.

Late Woodland components are present in most sites along the upper Delaware River valley. Despite this fact, only three locales presently are known to contain identifiable protohistoric Minisink phase occupations. Disturbed upper levels at Overpeck and Buckskin Cave contain small numbers of artifacts dating to the 16th-century. The nominated multi-component Minisink site, in contrast, possesses large numbers of intact and well-dated features containing an almost unbroken range of occupations dating from Early Archaic to late historic times.

The Seventeenth Century

The Munsee heartland stretched from the lower Hudson to the upper Delaware River valleys when Adriaen Block, Cornelis May, Henry Hudson, and other Western European mariners sailed to the shores of the region during the early 1600s. Documents left by these and other early voyagers represent some of the only clearly identifiable evidence of the many Indian communities that once ringed New York Harbor, western Long Island Sound, and the shores of the lower Hudson River. The first European colonists moving to the area recorded the existence of small settlements at coastal locales like Canarsie, Rockaway, Massapequa, and Matinecock on western Long Island. Other settlements farther inland were observed along secondary streams such as the Esopus, Walkill, and Rondout rivers in southeastern New York and the Passaic, Hackensack, Raritan, and Musconetcong drainages

in northern New Jersey. Other towns were noted along the upper reaches of the Delaware River from the Falls at Trenton north to Minisink country by colonists penetrating these regions during the later decades of the 1600s.

Linguistic studies contrasting historic texts with modern linguistic field data indicate that most people living in the lower Hudson and upper Delaware Valleys spoke variants of the Munsee dialect of the Delaware language. The linguistic affiliations of people living in western Long Island people and Raritan country presently are unclear. Indian people speaking other languages settled in various parts of the region during the latter decades of the 17th-century. Housatonic, Wappinger, and Mahican people, for example, established settlements along the upper Passaic Valley in and around Ramapo during the 1670s (Grumet 1988). Twenty years later, many of the hundreds of Ohio Shawnees moving east settled at Pechoquealin, their name for the Delaware Water Gap.

Although exact figures are lacking, the total number of Indian people living in Munsee country probably did not exceed 12,000 at the time of initial contact. As elsewhere, this population declined disastrously during the years immediately following intensive contact with Europeans and Africans. Hundreds of Indian people living in Munsee country were killed in wars with Dutch settlers and other Indians that ravaged communities throughout the Hudson Valley from 1640 to 1676 (Trelease 1960). Others died fighting for their English Covenant Chain allies in later wars with the French and their Indian allies. Disease also took its toll; many people perished in the no fewer than seven epidemics known to have swept around and through Munsee territory between 1633 and 1691 (Grumet 1990a).

As elsewhere, thousands of Europeans poured into the region as Indian numbers dwindled. Many brought or bought African slaves to work former Indian lands in the region. Colonists expanding their settlements from centers such as New York, Kingston, Newark, and Philadelphia increasingly pressed Indian people farther into the interior towards the Appalachians and the Iroquois. Iroquois people struggled with Munsees, other Indians, and colonist for control of the Long Island wampum trade vital to the early economies of region. Forced to sell as much as 40% of their ancestral homeland by 1700, more than a few Hudson Valley people settled at the Minisink towns along the upper Delaware River for a time before leaving the region for the Susquehanna and Ohio countries. Many of these people subsequently came to be known farther west as Munsees, "People from Minisink."

Professional archeologists and avocationalists have found a number of contact period components dating to the 17th-century in sites along the upper Delaware River. White clay pipes, gun barrels, coins, mouth harps, or other materials dating to the 1600s have been discovered with aboriginal materials at sites within the Hurley Flats Complex near Kingston, New York and in properties along the upper reaches of the Hackensack and Passaic river drainages. Small numbers of European objects also have been found with aboriginal artifacts at such multi-component deposits as the Hendrickson site in Kingston, New York

(Eisenberg 1989) and the Amenia site and Shagabak Rockshelter farther east in Dutchess County (Diamond 1992).

Written references identifying large numbers of Indian habitation sites in the area suggest that the relatively small number of known sites more closely reflects modern archeological survey preferences and site destruction patterns than 17th-century Munsee settlement systems.

In contrast to more northerly areas where mortuary sites constitute much of the known archeological record, nearly all presently identified properties associated with 17th-century Indian life in Munsee country are habitation sites. The Van Etten site represents the only currently identified locale in Munsee country used solely as a cemetery. Human interments found at two other locales, the nominated Minisink and Ward's Point sites, occur in association with truncated pits, hearths, middens, and other deposits excavated beneath living floors.

Although most of these locales have been associated with Munsee people, later 17th-century sites located in the highlands from Dutchess County, New York to the Delaware Water Gap also may contain presently unrecognized evidence of Wappinger, Housatonic, Mahican, or Shawnee occupation.

The Eighteenth Century

The number of Indian people living in Munsee country continued to drop precipitously during the first decades of the 18th-century. Smallpox, measles, and other diseases continued to take their toll as others pressed to sell land to settlers and local officials moved away. People living in Munsee country resisted these pressures as long as they could. Devastated by losses suffered in wars during the preceding century, they found themselves living directly in the path of colonial expansion. Hemmed in between domineering European colonists on one side and powerful Iroquois nations intent upon their subjugation or expulsion on the other, they had to develop effective survival strategies. Many responded to the challenges of contact by abandoning their homeland. Others, less willing to part with ancestral lands, worked to develop somewhat subtler solutions to their problems.

Many Indian people forced to sell their lands moved among friends and kinsfolk in more remote or less desirable swamplands or mountain valleys. Sites such as the Tiorati Rock Shelter and the Potake Pond site, located in hilly inaccessible areas of southeastern New York and Northern New Jersey, corroborate 17th-century written records documenting Munsee relocations to other places near centers of European expansion considered undesirable by land-hungry colonists.

Such moves were a temporary expedient at best. Continuing pressure from land-hungry settlers ultimately forced most of these people to move to more remote settlements in

Minisink country. The nominated Minisink site contains the well preserved remains of the largest and best known of these towns. Surviving records indicate that Minisink town was one of several settlements strung out along a 50 mile-long stretch of the upper Delaware River above the Delaware Water Gap. Archeological remains associated with four other towns in this area have been located at the Pahaquarra, Miller Field, Harry's Farm, and Van Etten sites. A wide range of European materials has been found at Harry's Farm. Three intrusive burials dug into earlier deposits by Indian people during the mid 18th-century provide evidence of late historic Indian occupation at Pahaquarra. Farther north, existing evidence indicates that Indian people continued to use the Van Etten site above Port Jervis, New York as a cemetery into the first decade of the 18th-century.

Indian leaders tried to assure the security of followers remaining in Munsee country by weaving together complex webs of protective interlocking alliances. Dispatching delegations carrying wampum belts requesting friendship and protection to the Iroquois capital at Onondaga, many of these leaders worked to recognize Iroquois League hegemony without surrendering their own sovereignty. Meeting regularly with British authorities in Albany, Kingston, and New York, such leaders as Taphow, Joris, Ankerop, and Renap continued to support the Covenant Chain alliance linking New York with the Iroquois League and their associates.

Leading men and women further worked to widen their base of support by encouraging displaced Indian people to continue living among them. Some of these attempts, like Ankerop's effort to obtain the permission of Covenant Chain allies to resettle Tuscarora refugees from North Carolina in Esopus country during the 1720s, did not succeed. Other efforts were more successful. Immigration from Mahican country and the Housatonic Valley, for example, continued through the first half of the 18th-century. As mentioned earlier, one of these newcomers, the Housatonic sachem Taphow, became the most influential sachem in northern New Jersey during the early 1700s. Ohio Shawnee refugees living at Pechoquealin near the modern village of Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pennsylvania also provided a measure of support to local Indian leaders during this period. Potent military allies with strong connections to powerful western nations, the Shawnees struggled to live peaceably near their Munsee friends. In the end, they lost their struggle. Worsening relations with the Iroquois and nearby colonists leading up to a series of fights and killings forced Pechoquealin Shawnees to abandon the valley and return west in 1727.

Other efforts to live peaceably with fractious local provincial authorities and greedy settlers were more successful. Several of these efforts, such as the more or less annual meetings at Kingston, New York renewing friendship between Esopus Indian people and Ulster County magistrates first established under the terms of the Nicolls Treaty ending the Esopus War in 1665, provided opportunities for adjudicating disputes and discussing current affairs.

These and other established cooperative frameworks gradually broke down as overwhelming numbers of settlers poured into the region. One strategy that had worked in the past, the

delaying-action conveying relatively small amounts of land to contending purchasers that slowed down expansion by forestalling larger and more damaging acquisitions, grew less effective as provincial governors such as New York's Benjamin Fletcher and Pennsylvania's Thomas Penn seized great tracts or granted patents to vast areas to favorites and cronies. Fletcher's most extensive grants, the 1708 Hardenburgh Patent, unjustly alienated Munsee title to more than half a million acres of Munsee country comprising today's Catskill region. Pennsylvania's seizure, with Iroquois help, of land along the west bank of the Delaware above the Forks taken under the terms of the 1736 "Walking Purchase" agreement sanctioning an unrecorded 1686 deed continues to rankle Delaware people to the present day.

Many Munsees displaced by the Walking Purchase moved to Moravian mission settlements established in their country at the Forks of the Delaware along the lower Lehigh River in 1742. Joined by other expatriates, they built stone houses, erected mills, and practiced steadfast neutrality at towns like Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten until attacks from Indians and settlers forced them to move farther west during the Seven Years War.

Other Munsees allied with powerful neighbors often received surprising degrees of protection. At various times, Minisink and Esopus Covenant Chain allies threatened by border violence frequently found refuge in colonial towns. As with many other traditional relationships, this protection system also broke down as the century wore on. Panic-stricken settlers stampeded by rumors of impending French and Indian attacks at the beginning of King George's War in 1744, for example, massacred several families of Esopus Indian people taking refuge in the Ulster County town of Walden.

Indian people continuing to live in Munsee country during these years were increasingly forced to seek justice in British courts. Not surprisingly, Indian petitions were treated differently in different courts. Local courts usually found against Indian litigants. Higher provincial courts, administered by colonial officials anxious to both maintain Indian support and limit growth of local political autonomy, often protected what they regarded as legitimate Indian interests. As Sir William Johnson's actions in the Wappinger case in the preceding section so convincingly showed, this system lasted until colonial officials found it more expedient to restrict support to claims of more powerful nations like the Mohawks.

These and other actions worsened already strained relations between the Indian inhabitants of Munsee country and their British neighbors. Despite continual renewals of friendship at treaty meetings, assaults and other outrages committed by settlers nearly forced the Munsees and their neighbors to go to war against their British Covenant Chain allies in 1727 and 1744. Title to most remaining Indian lands in Munsee country passed into settler's hands when Minisink and Esopus people finally agreed to validate Hardenburgh's claims to the Catskill uplands by signing two new deeds in 1746. Most Hudson Valley Indians were forced from the last of their towns along the river shortly thereafter. Agreements transferring all but hunting and fishing rights to lands in northern New Jersey in return for 1,000 Spanish dollars were formalized in a deed signed on October 25, 1758 during one of the Easton

treaty meetings renewing peace between British colonists and Munsee, Delaware, and Wappinger people during the Seven Years War.

Many Hudson and Delaware Valley Indian expatriates joined immigrants already living in Munsee, Mahican, and Delaware towns in Susquehanna and Ohio country. Others moved farther east to Christian Indian mission communities at Skatekook, Connecticut and Stockbridge, Massachusetts. No matter where they moved, most Indians from Munsee country ultimately were forced to join friends and relatives in westward exile by 1800.

Sources

Useful surveys of archeological evidence of late prehistoric Indian life in the Hudson Valley may be found in Funk (1976), C. Smith (1950), and Snow (1980). Findings from recent survey activities along the Hackensack and Passaic drainages are summarized in Lenik (1989). Ceci (1980 and 1982), C. Smith (1950), and Solecki (1990) survey archeological research on 17th-century western Long Island Munsee sites such as Fort Massapeag and Motts Point. Studies presenting evidence for protohistoric and early historic Minisink phase life in upper Delaware country include Kinsey (1972), Kraft (1975b, 1977, 1978, and 1986), Marchiando (1972), Orr and Campagna (1991), Puniello and Williams (1978), Schrabisch (1915), and Williams, Puniello, and Flinn (1982). No intact archeological deposits clearly associated with Shawnee people have yet been found along the Delaware River.

Significant primary sources for Munsee ethnohistory include the many accounts compiled in Jameson (1909), the 1679-1680 journal of Labadist minister Jasper Danckaerts and its recently discovered addendum on Indian life (Danckaerts 1913; Gehring and Grumet 1987), and the original and recent retranslations of Adriaen van der Donck's 1655 description of Indian life in New Netherland (van der Donck 1968; van Gastel 1990). Studies by Grumet (1979 and 1991), Thurman (1973), and Trelease (1960) present extensive analyses of Munsee ethnohistory. Ceci (1977) documents the economic impact of the wampum trade on 17th-century intercultural relations in the region. A vast body of documentation chronicles Moravian mission work among the Munsees (Heckewelder 1876; Zeisberger 1910).

The story of Munsee resistance and dispossession has attracted many scholars. Goddard (1978b) and Weslager (1972) provide good general summaries of Munsee sociocultural life of the period. Grumet (1979) surveys Munsee settlement patterns and socio-political organization. Jennings's revisionist studies of the Walking Purchase and the Covenant Chain alliance have exerted considerable influence upon regional scholarship (Jennings 1984). The little-known Nicolls Treaty renewal process established at the end of the Esopus Wars in 1665 is examined in Scott and Baker (1953). Discussions of the Shawnee occupation at Pechoquealin may be found in Callender (1978b) and Grumet (1979).

Much evidence of 18th-century Indian life in Munsee country has been found in recent years. Burying grounds and several standing stone buildings associated with the Moravian mission

at the Forks of the Delaware, such as the Gemeinhaus NHL, remain on the campus of the Moravian College in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Archeological surveys conducted by Edward J. Lenik and his associates have located sites containing diagnostic materials dating to the 18th-century at several locales along the lower Hudson Valley. Deposits located in one of these, Wilder Mons Kerk-Hoff, contain a British copper coin dated 1737 and numerous contemporary European white clay pipes. Other sites encountered by Lenik contain less substantial fragmentary remains.

Archeological properties located along the upper Delaware Valley, such as Harry's Farm and the nominated Minisink site, by contrast, contain some of the most extensive intact concentrations of 18th-century deposits in the North Atlantic region. Hundreds of glass beads and pipe-stems have been found with metal and glass implements of all descriptions in middens, pits, and graves at Minisink. Other concentrations of European and aboriginal artifacts have been unearthed at Harry's Farm. Parts of a musket, a peace medal bearing King George III's likeness, and a wooden box containing glass beads and other ornaments, have been found in intrusive burials of an Indian man, woman, and child dug into earlier Late Woodland deposits at the Pahaquarra site.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Munsee Country dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Buckskin Cave	Pike Co, PA	1400s-1600s			PASS
Hendrickson	Kingston, NY	1400s-1600s			Eisenberg 1989
Minisink	Sussex Co, NJ	1500s-1750s			Kraft 1977, 1978, & 1986; Marchiando 1972; Puniello & Williams 1978
Overpeck	Kintnersville, PA	1550-1600			Fehr & Staats 1980; PASS
Hurley Flats Complex					
Wyncoop Farm/ Grapes	Marbletown, NY	1550-1600		dest	Van Sickle 1990
Beaver Lake Rockshelter	Marbletown, NY	1500s-1600s		good	Diamond 1991
Gill 1 and 2	Marbletown, NY	1500s-1600s		good	Diamond 1991
Hurley Rockshelter	Marbletown, NY	1500s-1600s		good	Diamond 1991
Tongore Road	Marbletown, NY	1500s-1600s		good	Diamond 1991
Amenia	Dutchess Co, NY	1600s			Diamond 1992
Croton Point	Croton-on-Hudson, NY	1600s			M.R. Harrington 1925
Finch Rock Shelter	Armonk, NY	1600s			M.R. Harrington 1909
Fort Massapeag	Hempstead, NY	1600s			C. Smith 1950; Solecki 1990
Kaeser	Bronx, NY	1600s			Rothschild & Lavin 1977
Shagabak Rock Shelter	Dutchess Co, NY	1600s			Diamond 1992
Ward's Point	Staten Island, NY	1600s	X		Jacobson 1980
Motts Point (IBM)	Port Washington, NY	1600s (?)			Ceci 1982; Salwen 1962
Skunk Run	Warren Co, NJ	1600-1750			Kraft 1990
Diehl	Monroe, PA	1625-1650			Becker 1987; PASS

Monksville Reservoir	Monksville, NJ	1630-1680			Lenik & Ehrhardt 1986
Miller Field	Warren Co, NJ	1650-1674			Kraft 1972
Calno School Burial	Warren Co, NJ	1650-1700			Puniello & L. Williams 1978
Van Etten	Deer Park, NY	1650-1700			Heye & Pepper 1915
Zimmerman	Pike Co, PA	1660-1690			Werner 1972
Tiorati Rock Shelter	Orange Co, NY	1660-1760			Funk 1976
Harry's Farm	Warren Co, NJ	1660-1776			Kraft 1975a
Friedman II	Sussex Co, NJ	1680-1710			Puniello & L. Williams 1978
Apshawa Rock Shelter	Bloomingdale, NJ	1680s			Lenik 1989
LaRoe-Van Horn House	Mahwah, NJ	early 1700s			Lenik 1989
Echo Lake	West Milford, NJ	1730s			Lenik 1976
Wilder Mons Kerk-Hoff	Old Tappan, NJ	1730s			Demarest 1975
Gemeinhaus NHL	Bethlehem, PA	1733-	X	excel	NPS 1987
Pahaquarra	Warren Co, NJ	mid 1700s			Baird 1987; Kraft 1976 & 1986
Potake Pond	Ramapo, NY	1700s			Lenik 1987
Darlington Rock House	Orange Co, NY	undated			Heusser 1923
Darlington Rock Shelter	Orange Co, NY	undated			Bischoff & Kahn 1979
Davenport	Sussex Co, NJ	undated			Leslie 1968
David Demarest House	River Edge, NJ	undated			Lenik 1985
Faucett	Pike Co, PA	undated		dest	Moeller 1975
Muskeeta Cove	Hempstead, NY	undated		dist	Salwen 1968
Prospect Street	Hackensack, NJ	undated		dest	Lenik 1989
Ramapo Rock Shelter	Orange Co, NY	undated			Funk 1976
Ryders Pond	Brooklyn, NY	undated		dest	Lopez & Wisniewski 1972
Soundview	Great Neck, NY	undated			C. Smith 1950
Spring Lake	Oyster Bay, NY	undated	X		Weaver & Rennenkampf 1973
Sylvan Lake Rock Shelter	Dutchess Co, NY	undated	X		Funk 1976, W. Ritchie 1958
Throgs Neck	Bronx Co, NY	undated		dist	Skinner 1919

DUTCH-INDIAN CONTACT IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION

The Seventeenth Century

Dutch interest in New Netherland, as the region between Virginia and New England became known, began when Henry Hudson, an English mariner in Dutch service, sailed into the Hudson River during the fall of 1609. Subsequent voyages undertaken by Dutch explorers such as May and Block resulted in the establishment of the first Dutch trade post at Fort Nassau on Castle Island on the upper Hudson River near modern Albany, New York, in 1614. Prone to flooding and too far from the mouth of the Mohawk River, this post soon was abandoned. Ten years later, Dutch West India Company employees established a new post christened Fort Orange on the western shore of the river near where the main overland trail to Mohawk country struck the Hudson in modern Albany.

Other posts were erected in the North Atlantic region at Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan Island in 1626 and Fort Good Hope on the upper Connecticut River above Hartford, Connecticut, in 1631. Traders at these fortified trucking houses exchanged metal tools, textiles, glass beads, firearms, ammunition, and other European goods for furs with visiting Munsees, Mahicans, Mohawks, and other Indian people. Dutch privateers used New Netherland ports for attacks against English and Habsburg shipping during the series of wars fought with these countries between 1568 and 1674. Several large feudal manors known as patroonships and large numbers of small independent farmholdings also were established along the Hudson River.

New Netherland was a cosmopolitan colony stretching across the Atlantic coast from the "Fresh" or Connecticut River to the north to the Delaware or "South" River. Although many settlers hailed from Dutch provinces, significant numbers of colonists came from Scandinavia, France, Belgium, or central Europe. Increasing numbers of English colonists moving from New England also settled along the eastern borders of the Dutch province at Westchester and western Long Island. Many of these settlers, recruited and commanded by the same John Underhill who helped lead the attack on the Mystic Fort during the Pequot War in 1637, participated in several devastating attacks on Munsee towns during Governor Kieft's War in 1644. Twenty years later, many of these same settlers served as a fifth column supporting the English conquest of the Dutch colony during the fall of 1664. Recapturing New York in 1673, the Dutch subsequently agreed to return the colony to the English for the last time in 1674.

Today, few sites directly associated with Indian contact during the Dutch regime in the North Atlantic region are known to survive. Many locales of Dutch-Indian relations, such as the Conference House NHL on Staten Island, and Ulster County NHLs such as Kingston's Senate House or the New Paltz and Hurley Historic Districts, generally witnessed events occurring after the final fall of New Netherland.

Two sites in this region clearly are associated with Dutch-Indian contact in New Netherland. The nominated Fort Orange site contains intact deposits associated with the province's most important Indian trading post. First erected in 1624, Fort Orange and the town of Beverwyck that grew up just north of the fort, served as the key Dutch administrative center in the province's interior. Materials recovered from preserved fort deposits during recent salvage excavations constitute one of the single most extensive bodies of Dutch colonial artifacts in North America. Deposits found at the nominated Schuyler Flatts site, for their part, provide unique documentation associated with Arent van Curler, one of the most influential Dutch frontier merchant-diplomats of the era.

Sources

The most detailed current survey of New Netherland life and history appears in Rink (1986). Jennings (1988) provides a succinct overview of the Dutch colony. Bachman (1969) examines New Netherland's role as a fur entrepot, plantation colony, or privateer's lair. Nooter and Bonomi (1988) and Trelease (1960) present vital information on Dutch social and political life.

A large body of primary written records document Dutch-Indian relations. Recent translations by linguist Charles T. Gehring (1977, 1980, and 1981) correct errors in earlier compilations edited by O'Callaghan and Fernow (1853-1887). Jameson (1909) also remains essential reading. Already mentioned research conducted by archeologist Paul R. Huey in and around the nominated Fort Orange site (Huey 1988) also provides indispensable data on 17th-century Dutch life in New Netherland.

Inventoried archeological properties associated with Dutch-Indian contact in the region dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Fort Orange	Albany Co, NY	1624-1664			Huey 1988; Pena 1990
Schuyler Flatts	Colonie, NY	1642-1664	X		Huey 1985
Augustine Heermans' Warehouse	New York, NY	1650-1699			Grossman, et al. 1985

FRENCH-INDIAN CONTACT IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION

The Sixteenth Century

The first chronicled direct contacts between Indian and French people in the North Atlantic region occurred during Verrazzano's 1524 voyage. Discoveries of artifacts possibly originating in what today are France, Germany, and the Low Countries dating to the 16th-century in nominated Mashantucket Pequot Archaeological District sites, at the McCluskey site on Block Island, and several other locales in the region may represent evidence of undocumented direct encounters or indirect contact with Cartier and other French traders who intermittently sailed to the St. Lawrence River after 1534.

The Seventeenth Century

Establishment of permanent French settlements in the region followed Samuel de Champlain's explorations along the North Atlantic coast in 1604-1605 and his subsequent incursion into the valley bearing his name in 1609. Both areas soon became centers of French expansion. Small settlements were established in Acadia between 1604 and 1613. Champlain established his capital along the St. Lawrence River at Quebec in 1608. French traders, missionaries, and soldiers first erected outposts, such as the nominated Pentagoet district, on the New England frontier at Acadia during the 1630s. Several decades later, French authorities constructed Fort Anne and other fortifications near Indian towns along Lake Champlain to protect their settlements around Montreal (established in 1642) and environs from Iroquois raids. As with most defensive measures, these posts also served as offensive staging areas for attacks on colonial settlements along the New England and New York frontiers.

The French projected influence through settlements from Acadia and New France throughout much of the 17th-century. Establishing posts in both places, French missionaries sought new converts and ministered to proselytes while civil and military authorities bargained with Indian traders and provided supplies to Indian allies. Other places, such as Ste. Anne de Beaupre in Vermont, also served as sacred sites where Christian Western Abenaki and other Indian people came to pray for health, guidance, and spiritual renewal.

Fewer than 500 French people came to the region before 1650 (Eccles 1969). Stimulated by the possibilities of profit and supported by the French crown, their numbers grew dramatically along the St. Lawrence Valley and the Acadian coast as the century wore on. Although written records show that the French erected several forts, missions, and settlements along the Acadian and Lake Champlain frontiers during this period, archeologists have thus far only been able to locate the sites of a few places.

The nominated Norridgewock site, located along Maine's upper Kennebec River, was as a vital French Acadian mission station and frontier post from the 1690s up to its destruction by a New England raiding party in 1724. The nominated Pentagoet Archeological District, contains the remains of two of the most important French Acadian frontier posts of the period. The strongly fortified Pentagoet site, established in 1635 and occupied by the English between 1654 and 1670, became the administrative center of French Acadia from 1670 to its final destruction by Dutch privateers in 1674 during the Third Anglo-Dutch Naval War. St. Castin's Habitation, for its part, represents a small unfortified Acadian trading and administration center established in an Etchemin town in 1677.

Farther west, Fort Anne represents one of the earliest of the many French forts built along the strategic Lake Champlain-Richelieu River route between the Hudson and St. Lawrence valleys. These forts guarded a vital portion of New France's southern frontier during wars with the Mohawks between the 1660s and 1701 and throughout King William's War, fought

against the English from 1689 to 1697. They also served to facilitate illicit trade between Albany and Montreal merchants carried by Indian smugglers from Schaghticoke and other frontier towns.

The Eighteenth Century

The first six decades of the 1700s were marked by nearly incessant wars between France and Great Britain. The British fought to secure and expand their territories. Vastly outnumbered and generally poorly supported by their mother country, French colonists struggled to contain British expansion. The French ultimately were forced to surrender New France to British troops in 1760. Subsequent attempts by Great Britain to consolidate imperial control over its new empire worsened relations with North Atlantic colonists. Finally breaking out into open conflict in 1775, this struggle eventually ended shortly after French military assistance helped the Americans defeat the British at Yorktown, Virginia in 1782.

French and Indians relations occurred within the context of these struggles. Accordingly, most French properties associated with 18th-century contact with Indians in the region largely consist of forts and mission stations. It has already been shown that contemporary documents record the construction and chronicle the development of many mission towns and fortified posts throughout the region. Although many of these sites have been located and marked, relatively few have been systematically investigated by archeologists. Those that have largely have been subjects of studies emphasizing the European side of things.

The two above mentioned properties nominated for NHL status in this theme study each contain important new evidence of contact between Indians and French settlers during the 1700s. As such, all can provide significant new information on many presently poorly known aspects of intercultural relations during this crucially important period in American history.

Sources

The Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1896-1901) provide the single most extensive source for published primary documentation on French expansion into Acadia and New France. Useful summaries of French-Indian relations in the North Atlantic appear in Bailey (1969), Eccles (1969), and Wade (1988). Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner (1985 and 1987) provide particularly detailed discussions of the archeological and ethnohistoric evidence of 17th-century French-Indian relations along the Acadian frontier.

Inventoried archeological properties associated with French-Indian contact in the North Atlantic region during historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Norridgewock	Somerset Co, ME	1614-1754	X		Cowie & Petersen 1992; Prins & Bourque 1987
Pentagoet	Castine, ME	1635-1700			A. Faulkner & G. Faulkner 1985
Fort Anne	Isle La Motte, VT	1665			VAI
Fort St. Frederic NHL	Crown Point, NY	1731-1760			NPS 1987
Fort Ticonderoga NHL	Ft. Ticonderoga, NY	1755-1757			NPS 1987

ANGLO-INDIAN CONTACT IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION

The Sixteenth Century

Chronicles recording the visits of English voyagers sailing to the region during the 1500s indicate that all made their landfalls north of the present borders of the United States in Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Most of these encounters were ephemeral contacts occurring on beachfronts or across ship's railings. Although English mariners may have made their ways farther south, no clear evidence of such encounters has yet been found in archeological sites or archival sources.

The Seventeenth Century

English people established their first short-lived settlements at Popham's Colony and other coastal locales in Maine. More sustained contact with Indian people began farther south when Brownist Pilgrim and Puritan settlers established the first permanent English colonies in the region at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay during the 1620s and 1630s. Settlers from these colonies quickly spread out to found other settlements in Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Eastern Long Island. The English achieved complete control over the region below Acadia following Richard Nicolls's conquest of New Netherland for the Duke of York in 1664. Although episodes of epidemic disease and wars with Indians such as King Philip's War (1675-1676), struggles with the Dutch, and conflict with the French caused loss and hardship, none of these events seriously challenged English hegemony in the North Atlantic.

Immigration, high birth rates, and importation of slaves from Africa caused population in the English North Atlantic provinces to rise to more than 130,000 by 1700. As it did in Indian communities and other European colonies, commerce played a major role in the lives

of many of these people. Unlike many of their European competitors, agriculture provided the economic foundation for English colonial development in the region. Particular patterns of English settlement and demographic expansion accordingly reflected this situation throughout the period.

Indians became important English trading partners everywhere in the region. Indians also played major roles in frontier diplomacy. Trade and diplomatic negotiation with Indian allies initially were conducted in and around centers of English settlement. The sites of such activities gradually shifted to more peripheral locales such as the nominated Pemaquid and Fort Orange properties as English settlers consolidated control over the coast by conquering or purchasing Indian land.

Fort Orange was occupied and renamed Fort Albany by the English immediately after the Duke of York's fleet took Manhattan from the Dutch during the Fall of 1664. Briefly recaptured by the Dutch during the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1673, English authorities abandoned the post in 1676 and built a new Fort Albany (also sometimes called Fort Orange) on a hill above the town that had grown up next to the post. Both the fort and the nearby town continued to be the single most important center of Indian trade in Northeastern North America until other more westerly posts like Oswego largely cut off the town's commerce during the 1720s. Archeologists conducting salvage excavations at the site of the first Fort Orange (built over in 1790) prior to its reburial beneath Interstate 787 uncovered extensive deposits associated with the period of British occupation. These included portions of the fort's southern moat and wall, the southeastern bastion, a tavern, and several residences of Dutch traders. Large amounts of artifacts reflecting every aspect of fort life were recovered. They also found numerous trade goods and evidence of wampum manufacture.

Pemaquid was one of the most important 17th-century English outposts on the New England-Acadian frontier. Located on Penobscot Bay near important Indian towns and French outposts at Pentagoet and Saint Castin's Habitation, the settlement served as a major English frontier military installation, trading post, and port. First settled on a year-round basis by English colonists sometime between 1625 and 1628, the place was abandoned in 1676 during King Philip's War. One year later, returning English colonists constructed Fort Charles to the south of the town. This fort, a large wooden redoubt, fell to an Indian and French siege at the beginning of King William's War in 1689. The post was rebuilt by the English as a stone fort and rechristened Fort William Henry in 1692. This fort also was forced to surrender to besieging Penobscot Indians and French naval units in 1696. The Indians and French demolished the fort before returning to Acadia.

Negotiations and other activities carried on at Pemaquid, Fort Orange, and other frontier posts became increasingly important to the survival of English colonial enterprises as contending English and French administrators and merchants vied for Indian commerce and military support during this turbulent century.

The Eighteenth Century

Anglo-American settlers along the coast maintained their dominant position over coastal Indian nations subjugated during the 17th-century throughout the 1700s. Farther north and west, relations between Indian people and settlers increasingly occurred along the frontier peripheries of New England and New York as settlers pouring into North Atlantic lands claimed by Great Britain gradually pressed into and overran the last independent Indian territories.

The four properties nominated for NHL status in this theme study embody critical aspects of contact during this period. Pemaquid and Fort Orange represent major Anglo-American frontier military trading posts. Cushnoc, for its part, primarily served as an important entrepot. Schuyler Flatts was a gathering place for armies, traders, and diplomats.

Other properties reflect other aspects of 18th-century relations between Indians and British settlers in the North Atlantic. Jenning's Garrison is typical of the many fortified houses built to protect frontier settlers from Indian raiders during Queen Anne's and other colonial wars. Other standing structures, such as the Experience Mayhew, Reverend Badger, and Gideon Hawley Houses, preserve the homes of missionaries working in Martha's Vineyard, Natick, Mashpee, and other Indian communities.

Sources

Much of the literature devoted to Anglo-Indian relations has already been cited. Useful general summaries appear in Jacobs (1988a) and Leach (1966).

Inventoried properties associated with Anglo-Indian contact in the North Atlantic region during historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Popham Colony	Phippsburg, ME	1607-1608	X		Briggs 1969
Pemaquid	Lincoln Co, ME	1630-1759	X		Beard & Bradley 1978; Camp 1975
Cushnoc	Augusta, ME	1630s-1775	X		Cranmer 1990; Prins 1986a and 1987
Cocumscussoc	Washington Co, RI	1637-			P. Robinson 1989; Rubertone 1989
Samuel Gorton Housesite	Warwick, RI	1648-1675			Freedman & Pagoulatos 1989
Cooke's Garrison	Acushnet, MA	late 1600s		dest	Howard 1907
Mark Garrison	West Brookfield, MA	late 1600s			MHAS
Philip Goss Garrison	West Brookfield, MA	late 1600s			MHAS
South Natick	Natick, MA	1651-	X		Fitch 1983
Hurley Historic District NHL	Hurley, NY	1653-	X		NPS 1987

Clark & Lake	Arrowsic, ME	1654-1676	X		Baker 1985
Jireh Bull Blockhouse	South Kingston, RI	1657-1700	X		Zannieri 1983
Schuyler Flatts	Colonie, NY	1664-1759	X		Huey 1985
Fort Orange	Albany Co, NY	1664-1676			Huey 1988; Pena 1990
Old Deerfield Village NHL	Deerfield, MA	1670-1670	X		NPS 1987 Reinke 1990
West Street Palisade	Hadley, MA	1677-1686	X		NPS 1987 MHAS
Huguenot Street NHL	New Paltz, NY	1690			VAI
Fort Gilbert	West Brookfield, MA	1700s			MHASI
Fort Cassin	Chimney Point, VT	1700-1745			MHAS
Fort Hill	Veazie, ME	1704			MHAS
Experience Mayhew House	Chilmark, MA	1733-	X	excel	NPS 1987
Jenning's Garrison	West Brookfield, MA	1739-1804	X		NPS 1987
Gemeinhaus NHL	Bethlehem, PA	1753-	X		B. Pfeiffer 1979
Mission House NHL	Stockbridge, MA	1754	X		NPS 1987
Reverend Badger House	Natick, MA	1757	X		NPS 1987
Fort Halifax NHL	Kennebec Co, ME	1758-1807			MHAS
Fort Ticonderoga NHL	Ft. Ticonderoga, NY	1759-1775	X		Holstrom 1969b
Gideon Hawley House	Barnstable, MA	1760	X		NPS 1987
Fort Pownall	Stockton Springs, ME				
Fort Crown Point NHL	Crown Point, NY				

HISTORIC CONTEXT: HISTORIC CONTACT BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION, 1524-1783

OVERVIEW

The Middle Atlantic region stretches across a long and generally narrow expanse of tidewater rarely wider than 100 miles at its broadest points. It is a land of flat coastal plains and low-lying hills ranging westward from slender barrier beaches across sandy barren lands to the deep loamy soils of the inner coastal plain. Piedmont foothills just beyond the Fall Line fronting the eastern reaches of northeasterly trending mountains known as the Kittatinys in New Jersey and the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia form the western border of this region. And everywhere, dense forests border marshy grasslands where deep sluggish rivers and tidal estuaries flow into broad shoaly bays.

The Middle Atlantic region includes:

Delaware
Eastern Maryland
Southern New Jersey
Southeastern Pennsylvania
Eastern Virginia

Although surviving records are unclear on the subject, most sources indicate that this region was linguistically diverse at the time of initial contact. Indian people living in various parts of the area conversed in Eastern Algonquian, Siouian, or Northern Iroquoian languages. No matter what language they spoke, each of these people used similar types of Late Woodland neolithic technology to exploit locally-available resources. All employed stone, shell, bone, or antler tools hafted onto wooden or bone handles to cut, scrape, and pierce wood, skin, and other materials used for tools, food, shelter, and clothing.

Most of these people also made and used stylistically similar clay pipes and uncollared conoidal or globular pots. More northerly Middle Atlantic people generally lived in briefly occupied dispersed settlements and belonged to more egalitarian tribal social orders. Those living farther south in southern Maryland and eastern tidewater Virginia frequently were associated with more complex societies often referred as chiefdoms by regional scholars. People affiliated with one or another chiefdom usually lived in one or more large town consisting of several houses during warmer months and moved to smaller camps during the winter. Occasionally erecting forts for protection, most of these people belonged to more stratified social orders.

Wherever they lived, and whatever way of life they followed, most people in the region made their homes in grass or bark-covered dome-shaped wigwams or rectangular longhouses when Europeans first began sailing to Middle Atlantic shores during the 1500s. As in the North

Atlantic, such housing preferences gradually changed as contact with settlers transformed Indian life throughout the region during the following centuries. In Virginia and elsewhere, Europeans settling on cleared Indian lands inadvertently replicated native settlement preferences for well-drained and fertile soils located on the first and second terraces of broad necks near major rivers (Potter and Waselkov n.d.).

Most chiefdoms collapsed as settlers defeated tribe after tribe in a series of wars fought from 1609 to 1675. Although hundreds of Indian people were killed or dispossessed by these wars, few Middle Atlantic Indian people are known to have left the region at the time. Most instead moved to small reservations or remote tracts unwanted by settlers. No matter where they moved, nearly all Indian people remaining in the Middle Atlantic region ultimately were forced to accept some degree of colonial control over their lands and lives by 1700. Today, although many of their descendants live elsewhere, people tracing ancestry to the Middle Atlantic's first inhabitants continue to make their homes at various locales throughout the region.

The Sixteenth Century

As in the north, most evidence of protohistoric Middle Atlantic Indian life survives in the form of archeological deposits and oral traditions. Known data indicates that protohistoric Middle Atlantic lifeways closely paralleled contemporary developments farther north along the Atlantic coast. People throughout the Atlantic seaboard, for example, lived lives based on neolithic Late Woodland technologies when Europeans first landed among them. While differing in particulars, all coastal groups used similar tools, utensils, weapons, house-forms, styles of adornment, and modes of transportation. All also used similar fishing, foraging, and hunting tools and techniques to exploit resources available seasonally along the region's inner and outer coastal plains.

Like many of their more northerly neighbors, most Middle Atlantic people planted crops of corn, beans, and squash wherever practicable. As in the north, plant cultivators generally produced largest yields when tilling deep soils located on lands exposed to warm moist southerly winds. Delaware families making their homes in more northerly reaches of the region generally preferred to live in small towns of scattered houses. People living farther south, like the Nanticokes, Piscataways, Powhatans, and their neighbors, often built larger settlements near their fields. Some of these locales, like the nominated Chicone site, were occupied for long periods of time. Although records are fragmentary, some of these communities were built near or within wooden palisaded forts.

Scholars generally correlate reconstructed settlement patterns and the presence or absence of features such as pits or middens with assemblages of pottery, stone tools, and other temporally and spatially distinctive materials to identify particular archeological complexes. Such complexes, in turn, generally are associated with particular cultural or socio-political

groups. Available evidence indicates that several distinctive complexes emerged in various places in the Middle Atlantic region during terminal Late Woodland times from 1300 to 1700. Using historic linguistic, documentary, and ethnographic evidence, scholars seek to link these complexes with historically chronicled people.

Although many factors enter into their identification, terminal Late Woodland Middle Atlantic archeological complexes are most clearly distinguished by unique settlement patterns and diagnostic pottery assemblages. People associated with particular archeological complexes in the region produced or used several distinctive types of decorated and undecorated shell, grit, or sand tempered collarless conoidal or globular pots. Although exotic vessels from other areas occur in some sites, most pots found in regional deposits seem to have been locally produced. Scholars wondering why pots and pottery from other locales are rarely found in Late Woodland sites in the region believe that local craftspeople limited contacts with other people following the collapse of earlier more widespread Middle Woodland period exchange networks (Custer 1986c and 1987). While this may be the case, such findings just as easily may show that Late Woodland Middle Atlantic Indians in contact with other people simply did not use, adopt, or adapt their pots, decorative motifs, or production techniques.

Stable patterns of **in situ** ceramic development, settlement patterns, and other archeological evidence in sites containing deposits associated with Slaughter Creek, Minguannan, and other late prehistoric archeological complexes, suggest that many regional Late Woodland cultural traditions persisted into protohistoric times. Such findings corroborate Indian oral testimony affirming the antiquity of their occupations in their historic homelands. Several scholars believe that linguistic evidence suggesting close relationships between Delaware, Nanticoke, and Powhatan languages indicative of common recent ancestry further confirms **in situ** theories (Fiedel 1987; Goddard 1978a; Luckenbach, Clark, and Levy 1987).

Not all evidence supports these theories. Many Delawares believe that their ancestors came from the west (Heckewelder 1876). Nanticoke oral traditions state that their ancestors split from the Delawares and moved south some years before Europeans first sailed into the Chesapeake. Other records tell of further separations. In 1660, for example, the chief Piscataway **tayac** (their word for chief) reckoned that by 1636 13 generations of chiefs had passed since an ancestor from the Eastern Shore moved west to the Potomac Valley (Feest 1978a; Merrell 1979).

Distributions of distinctive sand- or crushed quartz tempered Potomac Creek wares also may indicate population movements in the region. First found in Late Woodland Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers Valley sites located above the Fall Line, Potomac Creek wares came to dominate ceramic assemblages in locales along upper tidal portions of both rivers by the 15th-century. Discoveries of small numbers of Potomac Creek potsherds in deposits located

farther east along Chesapeake Bay's Eastern Shore suggest further northeastward movements of Potomac Creek people, pots, or ideas during these times.

Most archeologists believe that discoveries of distinctive assemblages of Riggins, Minguannan, and related ceramics in small dispersed sites generally lacking capacious long-term storage features like pits located around and near Delaware Bay constitute evidence that the area may have been home to ancestors of people later known as Delawares (also known as Lenapes) since A.D. 1000. Farther south along the Delmarva Peninsula, assemblages dominated by Townsend series wares found in somewhat larger and more densely occupied sites containing many pit features suggest protohistoric occupations by Tockwoghs and other Nanticoke, Assateague, Choptank, and Pocomoke people.

The archeology of 16th-century Indian life along the Western Shore of Chesapeake Bay remains poorly known. Discoveries of snow whelks and other materials from the coast in known deposits associated with late 16th-century Susquehannock occupations along the lower Susquehanna River corroborate early written records documenting their trading and raiding activities around the upper reaches of Chesapeake Bay during protohistoric times. Distinctive assemblages dominated by Potomac Creek wares found along the Potomac River estuary in sites like Accokeek Creek NHL and St. Mary's City NHL indicate that the immediate ancestors of historically chronicled Doeg, Nacotchtanke or Anacostia, Potomac, and Piscataway (known to Iroquois people as Conoys) people lived in the area by A.D. 1350.

Discoveries of other sites containing ceramic assemblages dominated by Townsend wares along the lower Chesapeake Bay from the lower tip of the Delmarva Peninsula to the Virginian tidewater country between the James and York Rivers indicate that identifiable ancestors of historically chronicled Powhatan people and their neighbors were living in region at least 700 years ago. Finds of contemporary deposits dominated by Cashie-Branchville wares in sites along the Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers below Powhatan country suggest that historically chronicled Iroquoian-speaking people closely related to the Tuscaroras of North Carolina had been living by these rivers since the late 1300s.

Archeologists have unearthed a great deal of demographic information in ossuaries, individual interments, and other deposits in the region. Although these data tell us that Middle Atlantic Indians generally were a healthy group of people, they do not reveal total population numbers or densities. Some scholars upstreaming from early 17th-century written records believe that as many as 50,000 to 100,000 people may have lived in the region during late protohistoric times (Dobyns 1983). Others believe that Indian populations were much smaller at the time of contact. Scholars such as E. Randolph Turner, for example, have yet to find convincing evidence showing that more than 13,000 people lived on lands within the Powhatan Chiefdom in 1607 (Turner 1982).

As in the north, relations between Indian people and Europeans began when voyagers from France, Spain, England, and other Western European countries first travelled to the region during the first decades of the 16th-century. Spaniards periodically ventured north from Florida along the coast and into the interior (P. Hoffman 1990; Hudson 1990; Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier 1979). Several sources chronicle recorded and unrecorded voyages to Chesapeake Bay during these years (Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier 1979; Pendergast 1991a). Many particulars of recently recorded modern Indian oral traditions describing initial encounters with European explorers closely match early written reports documenting contact between European navigators and Middle Atlantic Indian people along Chesapeake Bay as early as the 1520s.

Surviving documents reveal that an Indian boy taken to Spain in 1559 or 1560 during one these expeditions was given the name Don Luis. Like Squanto, the resourceful Don Luis also managed to find his way home. Catechized by Catholic priests, he subsequently guided a group of Jesuit missionaries back to the James River to a place near modern Yorktown, Virginia called Ajacan by Spanish chroniclers in 1570. Rejoining his people shortly after his arrival, he subsequently led an attack that destroyed the infant mission settlement in February, 1571 (Gradie 1988; P. Hoffman 1990; Lewis and Loomie 1953; Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier 1979).

Although a subsequent reprisal led by Florida governor-general Pedro Aviles de Menendez killed a number of Indian people, Spanish authorities did not attempt to reestablish another mission in the area. Later well-known English attempts to colonize the region from their base in Roanoke, North Carolina, after 1584 also failed. Despite these failures, Europeans continued to sail to the coast throughout the 16th-century. Searching for a way west to China, they traded with local Indians and raided their settlements for booty, provisions, and slaves. Although some may have stayed along the coast for months at a time, no European settled permanently along the coast until Virginia Company colonists established Jamestown along the lower reaches of James River in 1607 (Fausz 1985; Quinn 1985; Quinn, Quinn, and Hillyer 1979).

Scholars presently do not fully understand the effects of early contacts on Middle Atlantic native people. Not so long ago, for example, most scholars believed that historically chronicled centrally-directed coalitions such as the Powhatan, Piscataway, and Potomac chiefdoms were formed in response to European contact. More recently, scholars challenging this viewpoint are using growing bodies of archeological data to show that propensities towards chiefdom formation may have first emerged locally during earlier Late Woodland times (Binford 1991; Rountree 1989 and 1990; Turner 1985).

Archeologists continue to debate whether or not long distance exchange networks associated with chiefdoms existed during protohistoric times. Glass beads, metal hoops and spirals, and other objects of European origin dating to the late 1500s have been found in Ontario and

New York sites. Most archeologists have long thought that such goods were acquired from French or Basque mariners known to have visited the St. Lawrence at that time (Heidenreich 1971; Trigger 1976; Turgeon 1990). Noting the absence of European materials in known Saint Lawrence Iroquoian sites, archeologists James W. Bradley and James F. Pendergast believe that discoveries of snow whelks from southeastern Atlantic shores in sites containing 16th-century metal spirals and other European goods along the Potomac, Monongahela, and Allegheny Rivers constitute evidence of more southerly connections (J. Bradley 1987a; Pendergast 1989; 1991a; 1992b). More recently, archeologist William R. Fitzgerald has suggested that Ontario Indian people did not begin exchanging glass beads obtained from French traders for Chesapeake Bay shells before the early 1600s (Fitzgerald 1990).

Wherever they appeared, long distance exchange routes would have served as effective avenues for transmitting new diseases brought by Europeans traveling to Atlantic shores. The initial impact of these new diseases among Middle Atlantic Indian people is neither fully known nor entirely understood. Several early historic and many later Indian oral traditions mention epidemic devastation of entire regions. Records documenting numerous epidemic episodes in more northerly reaches of the region are preserved in written reports dating to the 17th- and 18th-centuries. Although some investigators familiar with these data think that new diseases introduced by explorers probably ravaged Indian communities throughout the region during the 1500s, none of the few written records known to date to the century mention unequivocally identifiable instances of epidemic contagion. Discoveries of presently undetectable evidence of epidemic disease in bones of people interred in the many remaining grave sites preserved in the region have the potential to shed crucial new light on this important and still poorly understood subject.

Although several sites are known to date to protohistoric times in the region, few tell us more than their age, location, and cultural affiliation. Searches for historically documented locales like the site of the abortive Virginian Jesuit mission thus far have been unsuccessful. Although archeologists find glass beads or copper, brass, or iron hoops and spirals at some sites, most properties dating to protohistoric times contain deposits largely consisting of undiagnostic metal fragments mixed with stone tools, debitage, and aboriginal or European pottery.

The Seventeenth Century

Greater changes occurred in Indian societies throughout the region after English settlers managed to establish the first recorded successful permanent European settlement on Middle Atlantic shores at Jamestown in 1607. Both Indian and European sources confirm that relations between natives and newcomers around the new colony began uneasily. Virginian settlers alternately flattered, cajoled, and terrorized nearby Indian people as they searched for food, gold, or servants.

Alarmed by these developments and increasingly certain of English intentions to drive their people from their homes, Powhatan leaders subsequently led them in a series of three wars against the invaders, fought between 1609 and 1646. Whether Powhatans saw themselves as equally-matched combatants (Gleach 1992, Lurie 1959, and Rountree 1990) or as dominated resistors struggling against foreign oppressors (Fausz 1981 and 1985), they were devastated by these struggles. Forced to sue for peace on English terms, they were compelled to acknowledge foreign sovereignty and move onto small provincially supervised reservations. Those not willing to remain near colonists, like the coastal Nansemonds or Weanock people from the middle reaches of the James River, moved southwest to the Carolina border. Settling among Iroquoian-speaking people, these and other displaced Virginian Algonquians blocked Virginian expansion southwest beyond Powhatan territory for a time. Eventually making their own peace with the settlers, they subsequently helped defend the Virginian frontier against foreign incursions.

Warfare ravaged other parts of the region during these years. To the north, Indian people evidently infuriated by actions of settlers moving to their territories, obliterated the first Dutch colony at Swanendael on the lowermost reaches of a stream flowing into Delaware Bay in 1632. Other wars broke out as Virginia, Maryland, and Swedish settlers established new trading posts along the coastline during the 1630s. Aggressive, highly organized, and ultimately well armed by Swedish traders after 1642, Susquehannocks controlling access to interior sources of supply quickly drove contending Indian traders away from important entrepots. Susquehannock warriors compelled Delawares living near Swedish settlements on the Delaware River and other Indians living near Kent Island, Palmer Island, and other Chesapeake Bay trading posts to move elsewhere.

Most Delawares moved east to New Jersey during these years. Farther south, Wicomisses and other Nanticoke people who had moved north to avoid the fighting during the 2nd Powhatan War, were driven south by Susquehannock war parties. Living uneasily for years near Maryland settlers, warfare finally broke out in the area in 1669. Overwhelmingly outnumbered by the settlers and their Susquehannock allies, the Wicomisses were virtually destroyed as a people in the fighting that followed. Most were killed in assaults on their settlements. The remainder were deported to Barbados as slaves.

Susquehannocks establishing several short-lived communities near Delaware and Piscataway towns in the Middle Atlantic region tried to live peacefully with their European allies. Weakened by nearly incessant warfare with Seneca and other Iroquois Confederacy enemies and unable to resist Lord Baltimore's demand that they move to Maryland, most Susquehannocks abandoned their main Susquehanna Valley town and moved to a new fort on the Potomac River near the present Accokeek Creek NHL in 1675.

People living in the new fort soon found themselves besieged by Virginian and Maryland settlers enraged by a series of murderous confrontations with Susquehannocks and their

Doeg friends. Managing to escape after settlers murdered five of their chiefs at a parley, the Susquehannocks and their allies fled to southern Virginia. Outraged Susquehannocks ravaged Virginian frontier settlements. Alarmed by these raids, unsettled by news of a general Indian war in New England, resentful of the power and wealth of powerful planters, and angered by what they regarded as the autocratic rule of royal governor William Berkeley and his retainers, roving gangs of Virginian colonists initially led by a charismatic local planter named Nathaniel Bacon slaughtered many peaceful Indian people in the province before royal authorities restored order.

Susquehannocks and their allies retaliated against Piscataways and other English Indian allies by trapping many of them in Zekiah Swamp during 1680-1681. Forced to take up a wandering existence after breaking off their attack, many Susquehannocks joined people from Seneca country establishing a new community at Conestoga in the heart of their old Lancaster County territories around 1690. Conestoga townsfolk lived on land now claimed by Iroquois Confederacy sachems and followed the leadership of Cayuga viceroys. Inviting displaced Nanticokes, Delawares, Conoys, Potomacs, and other Indian people to settle in the area, Iroquois Confederacy leaders worked to dominate Susquehanna Country for the next 70 years.

Bacon's Rebellion and other wars depopulated vast areas of the region. Disease, deportation, and migration probably further reduced Middle Atlantic Indian population to less than one tenth its precontact level by the end of the 17th-century. Although European immigrants flooded into the region, total colonial population at first only rose slowly. Although subsequent writers have made much of the limiting effects Indian wars had on colonial population growth, relatively few settlers were killed in the fighting. Unable to easily adjust to local climatic conditions, the overwhelming majority of settlers dying during their first years of "seasoning" in the province were carried off by disease and malnutrition. As a result, fewer than 13,000 of the tens of thousands of colonists known to have settled around Chesapeake Bay during the first decades of colonization were still alive by 1650. Less than 1,000 of these people were of African origin or descent.

This situation gradually changed as the pace of European colonization quickened following the end of the last Powhatan War in 1646. Virginia and Maryland expanded rapidly. New settlements along the lower Delaware River valley founded by Quakers such as Richard Fenwick and William Penn also grew following the defeat of the Susquehannocks and their Indian allies in 1675. Total colonial population in the region subsequently increased to more than 125,000 by 1700. Nearly two thirds of the 20,000 African people enumerated in this total lived in Maryland and Virginia.

Overwhelmed by this influx of new settlers, total Indian population in the region dropped to less than a few thousand by the end of the century. Wars of extermination, epidemic disease, and mass deportations virtually annihilated many Middle Atlantic tribes. Many

Delaware, Nanticoke, and Conoy survivors fled west across the Fall Line into territory later claimed by the Susquehannocks and their Iroquois conquerors. Those remaining along the coast were forced to submit to colonial control. Like the Powhatans, nearly all were confined to reservations or driven to remote pine barrens, swamplands, or mountain valleys.

No matter where they lived, Indians staying on ancestral lands were forced to endure growing hostility and deprivation. Like some missionary enterprises elsewhere, the Henrico scheme and other Virginian mission projects well publicized in England were largely fund-raising schemes meant to enrich their backers (Axtell 1985; Jennings 1975). Other missionary efforts were motivated by less pecuniary considerations. Jesuit priests opening missions along the Potomac River in 1642 worked to establish strong economic and political relationships with local Indians. Attacked by Susquehannock raiders and occasionally suppressed by English authorities, their efforts, and those of Franciscans following them, represented the only fully developed missionary effort among Middle Atlantic Indian people during the 17th-century.

Although Indians found themselves increasingly drawn into the colonial cash economy, few had opportunities to establish permanent sources of income. Provincial authorities occasionally hired Indians as guides, messengers, interpreters, and warriors. Such jobs offered only part time employment at best. Royal governors, for their part, distributed food and presents at treaty conferences and other meetings. Other Indians worked as servants and laborers for cash or goods.

Rapacious settlers often preyed on their Indian neighbors. Many used liquor to pry land and peltry from their owners. Impoverished and dispossessed by settlers, large numbers of Delaware, Nanticoke, and Conoy people ultimately moved north into the Trans-Appalachian region or west beyond the Fall Line by 1700. Those refusing to leave struggled to live unobtrusively amid the hundreds of thousands of new immigrants from Europe and Africa who poured into their homeland.

The Eighteenth Century

Only a few thousand Indian people probably remained along the Middle Atlantic coast at the turn of the century. As in the north, most people choosing to live in their own communities had to settle in reservations or remote back country lots. Bordered on the west by hinterland claimed by Iroquois closely allied to the English, Middle Atlantic native people were not able to play off contending adversaries in the manner so effectively used by Indians living farther north along the heavily contested frontier separating the French colonies from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Instead, Middle Atlantic Indian people found themselves hemmed between closely allied nations intent upon their subjugation and relocation.

Although probably never numbering much more than 20,000 people at any time during the later colonial period, the Iroquois exerted great influence along the Appalachian frontier. Iroquois League diplomats and warriors struggled to maintain their role as primary intermediaries between northeastern Indians and Anglo-American colonists throughout the 1700s. Anxious to prevent British penetration of their exposed southern frontier, Iroquois diplomats continually worked to move Delaware, Nanticoke, Conoy, and other Indian people forced from their homelands to the Susquehanna Valley. Inhabitants of these towns guarded the southern approaches to the Iroquois heartland under the supervision of resident League viceroys, known among colonists as "Half Kings" or "Vice-Regents."

British colonists, for their part, did what they could to most fully exploit their technological and numerical advantages as they consolidated control over the coast. Total colonial population rose to more than 560,000 during the first half of the 18th-century. More than one quarter of these people were slaves or children of slaves of African descent. In Maryland and Virginia, people of African origin constituted nearly 40 percent of the total population.

By 1780, colonial population in the Middle colonies grew to more than 1,230,000. Although some of these people lived along the frontier west of the Fall Line, most resided in plantations, homesteads, towns, and cities along the coastal plain. Nearly 350,000 of these people had been brought forcibly from Africa or were descendants of earlier African captives. As earlier, most African-Americans lived among Europeans and Indians along the Chesapeake coastal plains. European colonists made up the majority of the population settling in burgeoning urban centers like Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Williamsburg. Few such centers developed in the rural plantation country of Virginia. Settling instead in isolated rural plantations, many Europeans found themselves living among Black majorities in many parts of Chesapeake country.

Most Indians remaining along the coast also lived in rural areas. After 1700, many of these Indians established close relations with European and African neighbors. As in the north, Indians continued to adapt many of their new neighbor's tools, customs, and ideas to their own purposes. No longer able to maintain traditional subsistence economies, most worked to earn livings as laborers, farmhands, and servants. Nearly all adopted European names and became Christians. They also increasingly married Africans, Indians from other communities, and nearby Europeans as their own numbers dwindled. Some children from mixed marriages moved among non-Indians while others remained on their increasingly smaller reservations. The nominated Pamunkey Reservation represents one of the few of these communities to survive to the present day.

Changing circumstances compelled increasing numbers of Delaware, Nanticoke, Potomac, and Conoy people to move north and west beyond the Fall Line during the 1700s. Indians from tidewater Virginia, by contrast, often managed to remain on ancestral lands. Not all were successful. Nansatico and Portobago people living in places in and around nominated

Camden NHL properties accused of murdering a settler in 1704, for example, were deported to the Caribbean or enslaved.

Nearly all of the few thousand Middle Atlantic Indians remaining on ancestral lands were forced onto reservations after selling or ceding the last of their territories by the 1740s. Those refusing to sell held on for a time along the fringes of frontier settlement in places like Pennsylvania's Tulpehocken Valley or Fort Christanna on the southern Virginia frontier. Increasingly pressed by settlers and provincial administrators, they could do little more than slow expansion into their remaining lands.

Most resisted peacefully by selling as little as possible to prospective purchasers. Others, like the Delaware sachem Nutimus, vigorously challenged more controversial land appropriations such as the 1737 Walking Purchase. Many Delawares, embittered by their failure to hold onto their lands, tried to roll back the tide of settlement by joining the French in a general war against the British colonies in 1755.

By 1765 this struggle was pretty much over along the Atlantic seaboard. British soldiers marching from Philadelphia and Williamsburg drove the French from the upper Ohio and burned Indian settlements from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny. Nearly all Delawares and other Pennsylvania Indians moved farther westward as tens of thousands of settlers flooded across the Blue Mountains. Peaceful Indians continuing to live among the settlers, like the Conestogas, were murdered by roving frontier gangs reminiscent of Bacon's rebels.

Little more than a thousand people continued to live in Indian communities in the Middle Atlantic region after 1765. Thousands of others tracing descent from Indian ancestors lived with non-Indians in the regions towns, farms, and cities. Most people remaining in Indian communities lived quietly among their non-Indian neighbors on small reservations like the nominated Pamunkey community. Others, like many Nanticokes, Piscataways, and Doegs, continued to live on small plots located on or near ancestral lands. No matter where they lived, most of these people found their lives, lands, and labor regulated by provincial law. As elsewhere, Indians received different degrees of justice in provincial courts. Although some provincial authorities enforced laws protecting Indians from abuse by settlers, like those in New Jersey executing two settlers found guilty of killing two Delaware women in 1766, most administrators ruled against Indians pressing land claims in colonial courts.

By the time of the War of Independence, most people remaining in Indian communities found themselves living in small rural enclaves. Increasing numbers moved from their reservations into the colonial settlements while others gradually joined kinsfolk and friends farther west. Most Delawares ultimately gave up and abandoned the region by the first decades of the 1800s. Farther south, a few hundred Nanticokes, Pamunkeys, Mattaponis, Nansemonds, and other Coastal Algonquians lived almost unnoticed by provincial authorities in and around small reservations on both shores of Chesapeake Bay (Cissna 1986; Porter

1986). Wherever they lived, few of these people forgot their Indian heritage. Today, their descendants preserve ancestral traditions in small communities and urban centers across the region.

Sources

Useful general surveys have been written by Feest (1978a and 1978b). Anthropologist Regina Flannery's compendium of historically chronicled Coastal Algonquian culture traits remains the most comprehensive guide to the subject (Flannery 1939). Other studies are cited in appropriate sections.

Articles appearing in the already cited recent sourcebook on Middle Atlantic Late Woodland archeology provide the most comprehensive up-to-date survey of the subject (Custer 1986b). Useful documentary studies of early European penetration in the region may be consulted in Morison (1971) and Quinn (1977). The abortive Jesuit mission is discussed in Gradie (1988) and Lewis and Loomie (1953). Fausz (1985) and Quinn (1985) provide succinct accounts of relations between Indian people and early English explorers and colonists from the founding of Roanoke in 1584 to the establishment of Maryland in 1634.

European observers, such as Virginians Robert Beverley (1947), John Smith (Barbour 1986), and William Strachey (1953) and Dutch mariner and patroon David Petersz de Vries (in Jameson 1909 and Myers 1912), recorded many aspects of 17th-century Middle Atlantic Indian life. Other accounts may be found in Hall (1910), Myers (1912), and Tyler (1907). These accounts provide important insights into early historic Middle Atlantic Coastal Algonquian social and political organization, spiritual beliefs, and economic life. Although brief accounts were penned by later European observers, written records postdating the 1644 War almost wholly consist of decrees, court proceedings, deeds, treaty texts, and other administrative documents. Many of these can be found in W. Stitt Robinson's well annotated compendia (W. Robinson 1983a and 1983b).

Studies by Binford (1991), (J. Bradley 1987a), Fausz (1985 and 1988), Feest (1978a and 1978b), Gleach (1992), Jennings (1975, 1984, and 1988), Pendergast (1991a); Potter (1982; 1989; n.d.), Rountree (1989 and 1990), Turner (1985), and Weslager (1972) provide important surveys of archeological and archival evidence bearing upon relations between Indians and colonists along the Middle Atlantic Coast. Important primary documentary sources may be consulted in compilations of provincial records such as the above mentioned Robinson volumes and other works edited by Browne, et al. (1883-1970), Gehring (1977 and 1981), Hazard, et al. (1852-1949), McIlwaine (1918-1919 and 1925-1945), Myers (1912), and Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier (1979).

Although no general survey of historic contact period archeology in the Middle Atlantic region currently exists, forthcoming volumes by Stephen R. Potter and an edited volume of

papers first presented in a symposium sponsored by the Council of Virginia Archeologists and the Archaeological Society of Virginia in 1991 promise to synthesize much of what is known about 17th-century contact in and around Chesapeake Bay. Howard A. MacCord provides a useful status report on the state of contact studies in Virginia (MacCord 1989). Dissertations by Stephen Potter (1982) and E. Randolph Turner (1976) also contain vital information. Other data bearing upon archeological research relating to sites dating to historic contact times in this region can be found in site reports of inventoried properties listed below.

DELAWARE COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Very little presently is known about the lives of the people who lived in what is now southern New Jersey, southeastern Pennsylvania, and northern Delaware at the dawn of contact. Little more than scant deposits of stone tools and broken pottery have been found in most known sites dating to late prehistoric or protohistoric times in this area. Conoidal to globular Bowmans Brook/Overpeck, Riggins, and Minguannan wares resembling Townsend ceramics found farther south and Sebonac wares to the north generally dominate pottery assemblages found in these sites.

Bowmans Brook/Overpeck pottery predominates ceramic assemblages found in sites dating from protohistoric to early historic times in northerly parts of the area. Most known sites near the coast contain little more than scanty evidence suggestive of ephemeral occupation. Larger sites located farther inland to the north and west of the Delaware River contain pits and other storage features associated with longer and more substantial forms of occupation.

Riggins wares represent the most common wares found in the few known protohistoric and early historic sites in southern New Jersey. Small temporary camps are the only property types thus far identified in this area. Minguannan complex pots, by contrast, dominate ceramic assemblages associated with small camps and larger occupation areas farther west between northern Delaware Bay and the mouth of the Susquehanna River. Minguannan wares are similar to Shenks Ferry ceramics thought to be have been made by people living along the lower Susquehanna River destroyed, displaced, or absorbed during the mid-1500s by Susquehannocks moving to the region from the north. Like Munsee potters making collared incised wares almost identical to those crafted by nearby Mohawk and Oneida people, makers of Minguannan wares used techniques and incised geometric motifs more generally associated with their more westerly Shenks Ferry neighbors.

Many thinly scattered deposits containing non-diagnostic bits of metal or unidentifiable pieces of glassware or pottery with Overpeck wares and other materials associated with Late

Woodland Delaware people at the Abbott Farm NHL, Camp Rockhill Rockshelter, Diehl, Margo, Price, Taylor Rock Shelter, and sites in the mid-Delaware River valley may date to historic contact period times. Schultz Incised pottery associated with historic Susquehannocks has been unearthed with other Overpeck and other terminal Late Woodland wares at Abbott Farm and the Eelskin Rock Shelter and Upper Bucks Airport sites in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. These findings suggest contact between Susquehannocks and local Algonquian people along the Delaware River during protohistoric times.

Although direct evidence is lacking, continuities observed in lower Delaware Valley archeological complexes suggest that most people living in this area during protohistoric times spoke dialects of the same language used by historically chronicled inhabitants of Delaware country from southern New Jersey to the lower Delaware River drainage (Stewart, Hummer, and Custer 1986).

Archeologists have found little evidence of food production, long-term community life, or social ranking in most known sites dating from late prehistoric to early historic archeological times in Delaware country. Arguing from largely negative evidence, several scholars believe that the area's inhabitants organized themselves into small nomadic foraging bands during protohistoric and early historic times (Becker 1987; Custer 1986b). Scholars taking this position believe that plant domestication, town life, and other more complex social and economic forms chronicled by early colonial observers were byproducts of European contact rather than autochthonous developments.

Other scholars question such findings. Many note that archeological deposits found in late prehistoric and protohistoric sites differ little from those encountered in properties dating to historic times in Delaware country. Both early and later sites generally consist of poorly preserved fragmentary deposits containing no evidence of storage pits and few, if any, European goods. Others point out that the distribution and composition of late prehistoric sites closely resembles the dispersed Delaware settlement pattern chronicled by later colonial observers such as William Penn (Myers 1912). Rather than view basic developments of Delaware society as byproducts of European contact, these scholars regard the charred corn cobs, stone tools, ceramics, hearths, and other fragmentary remains found with European goods in many late prehistoric and early historic contact period sites in Delaware country as possible evidence of continuity rather than change (Kraft 1986; Thurman 1973; Weslager 1972 and 1991).

The Seventeenth Century

People speaking closely related Eastern Algonquian Delaware languages lived in communities along the Atlantic Coast between southeastern New York and northern portions of the Delmarva Peninsula when Europeans first began settling in the region during the early 1600s. Munsee people living in the northernmost reaches of this area followed a

way of life broadly resembling that followed by their linguistically related southerly Unami-speaking neighbors. Despite this fact, significant differences in technology, settlement pattern, spiritual beliefs, and social organization, and political affiliation distinguished Munsee from Delaware people. Although the origin and full extent of these differences are not fully understood, the traditional homeland of the more southerly Lenape people, known historically as the land of the Delawares, stretched across the coastal plains of southern New Jersey and northern Delaware to the piedmont foothills of southeastern Pennsylvania during historic contact times.

At least 12,000 Indian people lived in small hamlets located near one another along sheltered stretches of riverbank from the New Jersey shore to the lower Delaware River valley when Dutch settlers established their short-lived Swanendael settlement in Siconeysinck territory in 1631. Like their Munsee-speaking relatives to the north, most people living in Delaware country did not live in large towns. Instead, they preferred to follow a less intensive settlement strategy centering around single structures sheltering up to 100 maternally related clansfolk and their families. Travelling widely through their territories, they hunted, fished, collected wild plants and animals, and visited relatives and friends. They planted corn, beans, and squash wherever conditions favorable to cultivation were found.

Relations with European colonists settling in the region usually were amicable. Early European documents state that the people of Delaware country initially welcomed Dutch and English traders sailing into their country during the first decades of the 17th-century. Claimed by the Dutch, most of Delaware country became part of the colony of New Netherland after 1624.

Primarily settling along the Hudson River, the few Dutch traders living along the Delaware River were unable to prevent local Indians from welcoming Swedish settlers establishing their New Sweden colony at Fort Christina in 1638. Although the Swedes themselves generally lived peaceably with their Dutch and Delaware neighbors, Susquehannocks determined to dominate the river trade began attacking Indian people living near the Swedish settlements. Although the Swedes pledged their friendship to Delaware chiefs, they were unable to protect them against Susquehannock assaults. Driven away from their lands by these attacks, most Delaware Indian people were forced to move temporarily east into New Jersey after 1634.

Dutch troops looking for thieves who reportedly stole a settler's pig on Staten Island massacred a nearby Raritan Indian town during the summer of that year. Outraged by the unprovoked assault, Indian warriors from Delaware and Munsee country drove colonists from Staten Island and other outlying settlements around Manhattan. The focus of this conflict, known today as Governor Kieft's War after the Dutch governor whose troops

attacked the Raritan town, continued to widen as English settlers living in New Netherland joined Indian allied with the Dutch in attacks against Delaware and Munsee towns.

Devastating natives and newcomers alike everywhere in Delaware country, the fighting was temporarily brought to a halt around New Amsterdam by a peace treaty signed on August 30, 1645. Unreconciled Indian refugees from the Hudson Valley moving among Delaware people in central New Jersey between Sandy Hook and the Falls of the Delaware at Trenton continued to carry the struggle on until signing a separate peace in 1649.

While these treaties brought a measure of peace to the region, they did not correct the trade abuses and other problems that had caused the conflicts in the first place. A new struggle, today known as the Peach War, broke out during the fall of 1655 when hundreds of Delaware and Munsee warriors attacked Dutch settlements along the lower Hudson while the province's troops were away reducing the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. Indians at the time stated that they attacked because many were angered by a Dutch settler's murder of an Indian woman picking peaches from his orchard. Modern scholars now believe that the Swedes, knowing of the projected Dutch invasion, may have induced their Delaware Indian allies to attack in order to divert Dutch attention (Gehring 1991).

These and the following Esopus Wars, fought in the central Hudson Valley from 1658 to 1664, devastated the northernmost Delawares and their Munsee neighbors. Living farther from the center of fighting around the Hudson, most Indian people living in the more southerly reaches of Delaware country struggled to avoid being embroiled in these conflicts. They could not escape involvement in struggles closer to home. Although existing written records are unclear on the subject, many Delawares making their peace with the Susquehannocks evidently fought alongside them as allies against the Iroquois during the 1650s and 1660s. While figures are not currently available, generalized references to large losses sustained by Susquehannock allies indicate that many Delawares may have been killed or captured in the fighting.

Indian people living along the Delaware stood quietly by as Dutch troops captured the Swedish colony in 1655. Nine years later, they submitted to English occupation when Dutch authorities surrendered New Netherland to an English fleet in 1664. Finding work as laborers, hunters, and servants, they lived peacefully alongside those few Europeans settling along the river during the first years of the new regime.

Many Delawares moved back to the west bank of the Delaware River after the Susquehannocks fled to Maryland in 1674. Soon afterwards, William Penn established his proprietary colony of Pennsylvania on Delaware land in 1682. Quaker agents quickly purchased much of the riverfront between Neshaminy Creek and the Christina River from Delaware leaders within a few years of their arrival. The initial transfers went peacefully enough. Imprecise deed boundaries, occasionally phrased in terms of the length of time

taken to walk or ride a horse in a certain direction, were to be an enduring source of friction between Delaware Indian people and Penn's descendants.

Most Delawares tried to live unobtrusively with their new Quaker neighbors. Many withdrew into the Brandywine and Tulpehocken valleys following the sale of their Delaware River lands. Others remaining east of the river moved deeper into the barren lands bordering Crosswicks, Rancocas, Cohansey, and other West Jersey creeks and rivers. Increasing numbers, unable to live among the English and resenting colonial policies taking control of their affairs out of their hands and putting it in the hands of more powerful English Iroquois allies, began to move farther west into former Susquehannock lands and beyond to the Allegheny and Ohio country.

Those staying in Delaware country struggled to work out a **modus vivendi** with English neighbors and Iroquois overlords. Unlike other Indians to the north and south, many people living in Delaware country managed to maintain a surprising degree of autonomy during the last decades of the 17th-century. Iroquois leaders asserting control over Indian clients did not openly dominate Delaware affairs during these years. Struggling to deal with provincial authorities demanding the right to approve new sachems or adjusting to other requirements calling on Indian people to adjudicate intercultural disputes in English courts, Delaware leaders carefully avoided provocations whenever possible. Unlike many other Coastal Algonquians living directly in the path of massive colonial penetration, Delaware people able to pursue policies of accommodation managed to avoid being ordered off their land into Iroquois country while sidestepping attempts to restrict them to reservations closely supervised by missionaries or provincially-appointed overseers.

Generally denied access to local courts, Delaware people pressing petitions to provincial governors and councils often obtained a measure of justice from officials obeying royal edicts requiring fair treatment of Indians as a means of preserving peace. Many settlers accused of crimes against Indians, for example, were tried and punished. Provincial administrators also almost always approved the appointment of nominated sachems during the 17th-century. Delaware elders, for their part, rarely nominated leaders known to be objectionable to English authorities. Often called "Kings" by the English, important Delaware leaders such as Tamenend, Ockanickon, Sassoonan (also known as Allumapies), and Mechamiquon, known to the English as King Charles, became prominent culture brokers during the final decades of the century. Acting as intermediaries between their followers and local settlers, they arbitrated local disputes, represented followers in meetings with governors and councils, and maintained close links with provincial authorities.

Although depopulation, relocation, and constant contact with non-Indian neighbors changed many aspects of Delaware life, few core elements of their culture appreciably altered during the 1600s. As elsewhere, Indian people throughout the region adapted European tools and ideas to traditional uses. While some Delaware people learned to speak Dutch, Swedish,

or English, many used a trade jargon when conversing with settlers. Colonial disinterest in Indian conversion, moreover, allowed most Delawares to preserve much of their spiritual heritage.

As mentioned earlier, few archeological sites currently are known to contain identifiable evidence of 17th-century Delaware occupation. Most known deposits consist of fragmentary assemblages located within properties containing several components. White clay tobacco pipes, buttons, glass beads, and stone artifacts knapped from local and European flints believed to be strike-a-lights or gunflints, have been found with aboriginal implements and other European artifacts at the Gloucester City site. These materials may represent evidence of contact between local Indians and early Dutch or Swedish settlers.

Evidence of 17th-century occupation has been found at other coastal plain sites in New Jersey. Several European artifacts have been discovered in features contain aboriginal materials at Salisbury Farm. Copper wire, white clay tobacco pipes, and quantities of glass beads have been found with aboriginal stone tools and pottery in a number of burials located at the Lenhardt-Lahaway Hill site in Burlington County, New Jersey. Farther south, a unique pedestaled clay vessel different from others associated with Late Woodland Fort Ancient people in and around the Ohio Valley has been found at the Ware site in Salem County, New Jersey. Sites located farther inland, such as the Overpeck site along the Delaware River south of Easton, Pennsylvania, contain pits, hearths, and other evidence of longer-term occupation.

The Eighteenth Century

The Delaware people constituted the largest single Indian group remaining in the region at the turn of the century. Although many Delawares had already moved west into the Susquehanna and Ohio Valleys, most continued to live in small settlements scattered from New York Harbor to Delaware Bay. Several factors account for this situation. First, unlike Indians elsewhere along the coast, large numbers of Europeans did not begin moving into the heart of Delaware country until the early 1680s. Moving away from places contested by more powerful rivals, they also were able to largely avoid involvement in the many wars that devastated other nearby nations.

No matter where they lived or how they moved, Delaware people could not avoid epidemic contagion. Although exact information is lacking, smallpox, measles, malaria, and other new diseases may have killed as much as 90 percent of the pre-contact Delaware population by 1700. Outnumbered and increasingly pressed by colonial proprietors to sell their lands, most of the few thousand Delawares remaining in their homeland were gradually forced from the region by 1750. Increasingly marrying non-Indians and Indian people from other nations, organized Delaware communities continued to decrease in size throughout the remainder of the century. Although many people of Delaware origin continued to live throughout the

region, most Indian people wishing to remain in traditional communities moved on or near the Brotherton reservation established by New Jersey provincial authorities at Edgepillock on August 29, 1758. Remaining there for more than 40 years, most Brotherton people ultimately joined other Delawares moving north to the Brothertown and New Stockbridge communities on the Oneida Reservation in 1801.

Delawares did what they could to avoid removal through the 1700s. Although nearly all Delawares people initially refused to sell all their lands outright, most were forced to sell territory to colonists. Most withdrew slowly, selling small parcels of land as they gradually moved up rivers into hillier and less accessible parts of their homeland.

The largest cohesive Delaware communities at the turn of the century were located along the upper Schuylkill River around Tulpehocken country near Reading, Pennsylvania. Led by Sassoonan, the second man recognized as King of the Delawares by Pennsylvanian officials, most Tulpehocken people were Delaware Valley expatriates forced to move farther inland after selling their land to William Penn during the early 1680s.

Other Delawares living in the Raritan Valley in East Jersey slowly withdrew upriver as they sold their lands to proprietary authorities. Farther east, small communities led by their influential king Weequehela held on in the sandy pine barren back country in modern Middlesex, Monmouth, and Mercer counties. Living quietly, nearly all of these Jersey Indians left their homes and joined friends and relatives in Lehigh country around the Forks of the Delaware after provincial authorities hanged Weequehela on June 24, 1727, for murdering a neighbor during a drunken dispute.

Farther south, small groups of Indian people held onto their homes along the upper reaches of the Rancocas River and Cohansey Creek in southern New Jersey. Others continued to make their homes along the Brandywine River in southeastern Pennsylvania and northern Delaware. Many Jersey Indians moved with their Brandywine friends and kinfolk to the town of Okehocking near Ridley and Crum Creeks after selling much of their land during the first decades of the 1700s. Living at Okehocking for a time, many of these people were forced to move farther west to Susquehanna country. They subsequently were joined by other Delawares after Sassoonan and other leaders sold most remaining Delaware lands below the Blue Mountains to Pennsylvanian authorities in 1718.

Anxious to secure title to as much land as possible, the Pennsylvanians pressed Delawares remaining along the Schuylkill River to join their tribesfolk at Shamokin in the heart of Susquehanna country by 1724. Some years later, provincial officials used a questionable unrecorded Indian deed dated 1686 to pressure Lehigh Delawares to sign the notorious Walking Purchase deed in 1736. Following deed stipulations calling for the proprietors to take up all the lands a man could walk in a day and a half, hired runners racing along a road

cut straight into the heart of Lehigh country paced off a line 55 miles long on September 19, 1737.

Rather than run a line directly to the nearest point on the Delaware River, Proprietary authorities insisted on tracing a right angle from the furthest point reached by their runner. Through this contrivance, they claimed almost all remaining Delaware lands west of the river. Outraged Delawares expecting to lose only part of their lands under the terms of the 1736 treaty refused to abandon everything. Their protests fell on deaf ears. Onondaga sachem Cannasatego, speaking on behalf of the Iroquois Confederacy at the urging of Pennsylvanian authorities, ordered the Delawares off their lands in 1742.

Most Delawares forced from Lehigh country joined their Schuylkill and Munsee relatives at Shamokin and other Delaware towns on the Susquehanna. Several hundred of these people subsequently followed Presbyterian missionary David Brainerd back to New Jersey in 1746. Settling between Cranbury and Crosswicks Creek, these Presbyterian Delawares struggled to live peacefully with their non-Indian neighbors for more than ten years. Ultimately forced from their homes under the terms of the 1758 Easton treaty, most of these people moved to the already mentioned Brotherton Reservation at Edgepillock around the present pine barrens town of Indian Mills, New Jersey.

Documents recording ongoing native occupation in New Jersey and other places in Delaware country reveal that many Indian people stayed or returned to the region after the Brothertons moved to the Oneida Reservation in New York in 1801. More than a few elders, for example, chose to live out their days near the graves of friends and relatives. Many children and spouses of mixed marriages, for their part, also refused to go. Others stayed because they simply did not want to be controlled by outsiders. In the end, most people claiming Delaware ancestry in the east moved to non-Indian communities. Those few refusing to live among strangers survived as recluses in unwanted barren lands, back lots, and mountain hollows in various parts of their traditional homeland.

The few sites currently associated with 18th-century Delaware life in the Middle Atlantic region generally contain small or scattered deposits of European goods. Much of this material has been recovered from site surfaces. Excavations at the Montgomery site, conducted by C.A. Weslager in 1952 and Marshall Becker in 1978, uncovered at least 14 extended burials. Most of these people were interred with European materials. Three burials contained relatively large amounts of glass beads and other grave furnishings while remains of wooden coffins were found in two graves. Datable European white clay tobacco pipes and glass beads recovered from this site indicate that it probably was a cemetery used by members of a Brandywine Delaware community sometime between 1720 and 1730.

Sources

A large body of primary documentation records developments in Delaware country during historic contact period times. Large numbers of these documents may be found in compilations edited by Gehring (1977 and 1981), Hazard, et al. (1852-1949), Amandus Johnson (1911), Myers (1912), and O'Callaghan and Fernow (1853-1887). Discussions of 17th-century Delaware culture and history written by Swedish engineer Peter Lindestrom (1925), New Sweden governor Johan Risingh (Dahlgren and Norman 1988), and Quaker proprietor William Penn (in Myers 1912) remain indispensable reading. Important secondary sources include studies by Goddard (1978b), Hunter (1978), Kraft (1986), Newcomb (1956), Thurman (1973), and Weslager (1972).

Surveys by Goddard (1978b), Newcomb (1956), and Weslager (1972, 1978) provide overviews of 18th-century Delaware life. Jennings (1984 and 1988b) presents a revisionist view of 18th-century political developments in Delaware country. Events in Raritan country and other areas of central New Jersey and the Lehigh Valley are examined in Grumet (1979). The Tulpehocken removal is reviewed in Jennings (1968a). Studies of the Okehocking community and the Forks of the Delaware region may be found in Becker (1986 and 1987). A survey of available documentation on the Brotherton Reservation is published in Larrabee (1976).

Of all the events associated with contact between Delawares and colonists, none has sparked more controversy than the Walking Purchase. Much hot ink has been spilt by partisans arguing over the justice of the undertaking. As Jennings, the foremost proponent of anti-proprietary viewpoint observes, both sides of a controversy are controversial (Jennings 1988b). He and anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace have unearthed considerable bodies of documentation suggesting patterns of proprietary manipulation, fraud, and deception (Jennings 1970, 1984, and 1988b; A.F.C. Wallace 1949). The late historian William A. Hunter (1961) and archeologist Marshall Becker (1987) are the most recent scholars supporting the Pennsylvanian proprietary cause.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Delaware Country dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Overpeck	Kintnersville, PA	1500s-1600s			Fehr & Staats 1980; PASS
Lenhardt-Lahaway Hill	Burlington Co, NJ	1600s			Cross 1941
Clyde Farm	New Castle Co, DE	1600s	X	dist	Custer 1985
Ware	Salem Co, NJ	1600s			Cross 1941
Delcora	Delaware Co, PA	late 1600s			PASS
Gloucester City	Gloucester Co, NJ	late 1600s			R. Thomas, et al 1985

Minguhanan	Chester Co, PA	late 1600s	PASS; Weslager 1953
Queonemysing	Delaware Co, PA	1690s	PASS; Weslager 1953
Salisbury Farm	Bridgeport, NJ	1600s-1700s X	Batchelor 1976
Alumhatta	Smithville, NJ	1700s	Bolger 1989
Ockehocking	Chester Co, PA	1701-1720s	Kent n.d.; PASS; Weslager 1953
Tulpehocken	Berks Co, PA	1705-?	PASS
Montgomery	Wallace, PA	1720-1740	Becker 1978
Northbrook	Chester Co, PA	1720s	Kent n.d.; PASS; Weslager 1953
Ingefield	Kutztown, PA	1725	Becker 1980
Abbott Farm NHL	Bordentown, NJ	undated	Cross 1956
Camp Rockhill Rock Shelter	Monroe Co, PA	undated	PASS
Diehl	Monroe Co, PA	undated	PASS
Eelskin Rock Shelter	Bucks Co, PA	undated	PASS
Goods Field	Montgomery Co, PA	undated	PASS
Horseshoe Rock Shelter	Chester Co, PA	undated	PASS
Margo	Bucks Co, PA	undated	PASS
Pemberton Family	Bucks Co, PA	undated	PASS
Price	Montgomery Co, PA	undated	PASS
Sweetwater	Bucks Co, PA	undated	PASS
Taylor Rock Shelter	Bucks Co, PA	undated	PASS
Upper Bucks Airport	Perkasie, PA	undated	PASS
Vermuhlen	Bucks Co, PA	undated	PASS

THE EASTERN SHORE

The Sixteenth Century

As elsewhere in the region, few written records document the first contacts between European explorers and Indian people living on Chesapeake Bay's Eastern Shore during the 1500s. Terminal Late Woodland pottery, tobacco pipes, triangular chipped stone projectile points, and other artifacts similar to those found elsewhere in sites around Chesapeake Bay have been found in pits, hearths, ossuaries, house floors, and other features dating to protohistoric times on the Delmarva Peninsula. None of the small number of artifacts of European origin found at these sites has been systematically excavated from features containing aboriginal materials.

Shell-tempered Townsend series ceramics are the most commonly found pottery types recovered in all but the most southerly known late prehistoric and protohistoric sites on the Eastern Shore. Similar in form to Riggins wares produced by more northerly coastal people, Townsend wares found in these sites were decorated with incised designs closely resembling others commonly seen on pots found in sites located along the Middle Atlantic coast from New Jersey south to Virginia. Such wares are the most common type of pottery found in

large coastal town sites and smaller temporary hinterland camps located in the northern and middlemost portions of the Delmarva Peninsula. This cultural pattern, known among archeologists as the Slaughter Creek complex, first emerged between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1500. Small late prehistoric Slaughter Creek complex sites largely consist of lithic scatters, hearths, or small concentrations of tools and other deposits. Believed to represent temporary camps, these sites are located along the coast and the lower reaches of major river drainages.

Larger late prehistoric Slaughter Creek complex sites often contain pits, midden layers, and other evidence of longer-term occupation. Animal bones and botanical remains, including occasional fragments of charred corn cobs and kernels, have been found in some of these sites. Although no Slaughter Creek complex site presently is known to contain resources dating to the 17th-century, nearly are located along the shores of rivers flowing into the western shores of Delaware Bay occupied by historically chronicled Delaware and Nanticoke people (Custer 1986b; Custer and Griffith 1986; Griffith 1982; Griffith and Custer 1985; Weslager 1939).

The Seventeenth Century

Relatively little is known about 17th-century Indian life on the Delmarva Peninsula. Living in a region bypassed by most colonists during the 1600s, they do not appear in European documents as frequently as Indians in closer contact with Europeans. Many Eastern Shore people evidently limited contacts with Europeans in efforts to avoid involvement in wars devastating nearby Virginia.

Surviving written records indicate that Algonquian-speaking Delmarva Indian people lived in towns located along the many rivers flowing westward into Chesapeake when Europeans first sailed to their shores. The largest and best known of these communities were located at Tockwogh, Wicomisse, Choptank, Pocomoke, and Nanticoke when John Smith visited the area in 1608. Smith noted that Tockwoghs living along the northernmost reaches of the Peninsula were Susquehannock clients. People from several Delmarva native communities also maintained economic relationships with the Massawomecks. Farther south, Accohannocks and Accomacs living at the southernmost tip of the Delmarva Peninsula periodically were under Powhatan influence during the early 1600s.

No known reliable direct estimate of Eastern Shore Indian population presently exists. Whatever their number when Europeans began keeping regular written records at Jamestown in 1607, total native population in the region must have dropped precipitously by the end of the century. Epidemics known to have ravaged Indian and European communities to the north and west may have killed many Indian people living on the Eastern Shore. Documents preserving more complete records of wars with settlers and other Indians, such as the Second Powhatan War and 1669 Wiccomiss War, reveal that many

Eastern Shore Indians were killed or carried off into captivity during fighting raging around Chesapeake Bay between 1609 and 1675. Still other documents reveal that many Indians unwilling to live with new Maryland landholders began moving away in large numbers to Conoy refugee communities established along the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers from 1675 to 1697.

Native people electing to stay on their remaining Eastern Shore lands were compelled to accept English sovereignty by mid-century. Using treaties to establish and preserve dominance, Virginian and Maryland authorities gradually reduced the Delmarva Indians to tributary status. Treaty protocols called on Indians to make annual token tribute payments in the form of bows and arrows or other symbolic objects, surrender fugitives, return escaping slaves, and submit names of nominated chiefs for provincial approval. Treaty meetings also became occasions for provincial authorities to ask Indians to surrender lands in return for continued peace and protection. Using this system, provincial authorities managed to restrict most Eastern Shore Indians to three small reservations by 1700. The first, known as Gangascoe or Gingaskin, was established by Virginians on the lower tip of the Peninsula in 1641. The other two were set aside by Maryland authorities at Choptank and Chicacoan between 1669 and 1684. This latter settlement, also known as Chicone, became the principal Nanticoke Town on the Eastern Shore.

Archeologists currently are working to unearth new information on life at these and other 17th-century Eastern Shore Indian communities. Discoveries of stone tools, glass beads, Indian and European ceramics, and metal objects found in and around a circular midden ring at the nominated Chicone site represent the single largest known intact body of archeological materials associated with 17th-century Indian life on the Peninsula. Glass beads, iron nails, a copper jetton or coin, and other European artifacts may be associated with aboriginal materials found at the Warrington site. Gunflints evident crafted from local stone by Indian people have been excavated at Arrowhead Farm. Archeologists hope that other sites containing late prehistoric aboriginal objects, radiocarbon dated deposits, or presently unassociated or nondiagnostic European materials, such as the Thomas ossuary site or the locale of what is believed to be the site of the Pocomoke and Assateague community of Askiminikansen noted in early colonial documents, also may be more definitively associated with early historic contact period Indian life in the area (Davidson 1982; Hughes 1991).

The Eighteenth Century

Conditions in the small Delmarva reservations progressively worsened as game disappeared and their soils became depleted. Harassed by trespassers and neighbors eager to see them move on, increasing numbers of Eastern Shore Indians joined friends and relatives living elsewhere. Many moved to Nanticoke and Conoy towns along the lower Susquehanna River.

Others settled on new reservations established in 1711 at Indian River, Delaware and Broad Creek, Maryland.

Most Broad Creek residents and many Indian River people moved to the Conoy Town on Haldeman's Island at the mouth of the Juniata River in Pennsylvania in 1744. Other Indians disillusioned with life under Iroquois domination returned to the Eastern Shore from time to time. Many of these people moved to the remaining reservations. Others joined family and friends living in small communities at Locust Point and other places.

Many of these people ultimately left the Delmarva Peninsula by the end of the War of Independence. A few people married non-Indians and remained. Today, most descendants of those who remained live in Piscataway communities in Maryland and Nanticoke communities in southern portions of Delaware or New Jersey.

European white clay tobacco pipes, ceramics, and other European goods have been reported in Mispillion (Hutchinson, et al. 1957) and Townsend (Stewart, et al. 1963) site collections. Neither body of material is known to have been found in direct association with aboriginal deposits. Recovered from site surfaces or excavated from discrete deposits not containing Indian materials, these deposits may represent later historic Indian or colonial occupations located atop earlier aboriginal occupations.

Sources

Summaries of archeological information dating to historic contact times on the Eastern Shore may be found in Custer (1989) and Weslager (1948). As mentioned earlier, most aspects of Historic Contact period Indian life on the Eastern Shore are only minimally documented in European records. The recent survey article by anthropologist Christian Feest (1978a) provides an general overview of cultural developments in the area during the historic contact period. Political relations in the area are most extensively treated in compilations edited by Browne, et al. (1883-1970), and Gehring (1977 and 1981). Early settlers accounts documenting observations of Indian life around Chesapeake Bay may be found in Hall (1910) and Myers (1912). Summaries of what is known about historic contact period Chesapeake Bay Indian life also may be found in Boender (1988), Cissna (1986), Feest (1978b), Marye (1935), and Porter (1986).

Inventoried archeological properties located on the Eastern shore dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Thomas	Cambridge, MD	1490-1656		dist	Hughes 1991
Arrowhead Farm	Dorchester Co, MD	1600s		good	Custer 1989

Warrington	Sussex Co, DE	1600s	X	dist	Marine, et al 1964
Chicone	Vienna, MD	1600s-1700s		excel	Davidson 1982; Davidson & Hughes 1986
Locust Neck	Dorchester Co, MD	1600s-1700s			Davidson, Hughes, & McNamara 1985
Mispillion	Sussex Co, DE	undated		dest	BAHP 1990; Hutchinson, et al 1957
Townsend	Sussex Co, DE	undated	X	dist	BAHP 1990; Stewart, et al 1963

THE POTOMAC AND RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER VALLEYS

The Sixteenth Century

Few written records document 16th-century contact between European explorers and people later collectively known as Potomacs on Virginia's Northern Neck and parts of the adjacent Maryland shore. Little also is known about the 16th-century occupants of the area between the lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay occupied by historically documented Piscataways, Patuxents, Mattapanients, and other people collectively later known as Conoys by the Iroquois. Many people living in the inner coastal plain along the upper tidal reaches of the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers were descendants of Potomac Creek Complex folk who built the first large densely-settled fortified towns in the area during the 1300s and 1400s. Discoveries of successive episodes of palisade wall construction at sites like Potomac Creek suggest that many of these locales were continuously occupied for long periods of time. Predominantly using distinctive grit-tempered Potomac Creek wares found in earlier sites along the upper Rappahannock, these people established major often-fortified communities at the mouths of such Potomac River tributaries as Potomac and Accokeek Creek and along the nearby Chesapeake Bay shore at places like the Cumberland site. Smaller camps like the Posey site on Mattawoman Creek (Barse 1985) in Maryland and the Little Marsh Creek site in Virginia (L. Moore 1990) were scattered throughout the area.

Working with historic documents like John Smith's map, archeologists have associated several of these sites with historically chronicled towns. The Potomac Creek site, for example, is thought to represent the location the main town of the Patawomeke **werowance** or chief. Contemporary deposits found at Accokeek Creek NHL have long been associated with Moyaone, the home of a major Piscataway **tayac** (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963). Continuing failure to locate European goods or other deposits dating to historic times indicates that Moyaone may be located elsewhere (Thurman 1972).

Descendants of other people generally using shell-tempered Rappahannock Complex pottery continued to live in large and small dispersed tidewater settlements along the Northern Neck and the lower Potomac. Unlike most Potomac Creek people, Rappahannock Complex folk,

generally buried their dead in ossuaries similar to those employed by other coastal Indian people farther south and east. Two wares produced by these people, a smoothed or scraped thin-bodied ware known as Yeocomaco or Yoacomaco pottery and a type of Rappahannock ware decorated by hollow reed punctations are considered diagnostic of later 16th- and early 17th-century Indian occupations. Diagnostic materials of European origin dating to the 16th-century are rarely found in Potomac Creek or Rappahannock Complex sites. Because of this fact, archeologists generally use Yoacomaco or reed-punctated Rappahannock pottery to corroborate radiocarbon assays dating site deposits to the 16th-century.

Several sites containing such wares have been found throughout the lower tidal reaches of the Rappahannock and Potomac Valleys. Large dispersed communities have been located at the De Shazo (MacCord 1965) and Boathouse Pond (Potter 1982; n.d.) sites. Shell middens have been found at Blue Fish Beach, White Oak Point, and other locales. Glass beads thought by David I. Bushnell to date to the 1500s were found during plowing in a field near the north bank of the Rappahannock River at a site thought to have been the locale of historic Pissaseck town (Bushnell 1937). More recently Stephen Potter has identified most of these beads as 17th-century Dutch products. Noting that diagnostic aboriginal artifacts collected nearby primarily date from Archaic to Middle Woodland times, Potter believes that the bead cache probably represents an isolated findspot rather a historic village component (Potter 1992).

The Seventeenth Century

Although existing records are not clear on the subject, several independent Indian communities probably existed on the banks of the Potomac and Rappahannock River Valleys between Virginia's Northern Neck and the present greater Baltimore area when English colonists first established Jamestown in 1607. Most of the area's inhabitants, like the Potomacs and their Northern Neck neighbors or the Piscataways and their affiliates primarily living farther upriver, were aligned into loose coalitions at the time of Jamestown's founding. More independent-minded people, like Portobagos, Doegs, and Nacotchtankes, were living in more or less autonomous communities located on both sides of the Fall Line along the middle reaches of the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers.

Very little is known about these latter people. Although little direct data is available, most scholars believe that Nacotchtanke, Doeg, and Portobago townsfolk spoke languages understood by other Virginia Tidewater Coastal Algonquian people. Archeological deposits excavated at the late prehistoric Nacotchtanke Ossuary and the early 17th-century Little Marsh Creek site located in areas historically inhabited by these people suggest that they lived in small communities and buried their dead in mass interments similar to those used by neighbors living farther downriver.

Influential chiefs living in these towns encouraged followers to join together under their leadership in temporary coalitions or confederacies. Many of these leaders probably increased their economic and political influence by serving as middlemen between the Massawomecks and other Iroquoians on one side and Virginian and Maryland traders on the other (J. Bradley 1987a; Pendergast 1991a). Often at war with northerly Susquehannocks or their southern Powhatan neighbors, rival chiefs competed for furs and followers along the lower Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers during the early years of contact.

Conflict with the expanding Powhatan chiefdom to the south may have led these people to create what Maurice Mook first suggested was a defensive line of towns along the northern banks of the Rappahannock separated from Powhatan territory by a generally lightly settled buffer zone mapped by John Smith in 1608 (Mook 1943; Smith 1624). Although the largest of these towns, Nantaughtacund, was located on the southern banks of the Rappahannock, most settlements known to have been affiliated with the Potomac chiefdom were located between the banks of the Rappahannock and the Potomac Rivers.

Farther north, most Piscataways and neighboring groups to the north of the Potomac had been visited at intervals since 1610 by Samuel Argall, Henry Spelman, and other Jamestown traders searching for furs. Other settlers, like Henry Fleet, who learned to speak the Nacotchtanke language while living with them as a captive for five years from 1623 to 1628, established closer ties. More sustained contacts began when Maryland colonists led by Leonard Calvert established a permanent colony in the heart of Yoacomaco territory at St. Mary's City in 1634.

Briefly living together with the new settlers, the Yoacomacos subsequently moved nearby where they labored to take advantage of the fur trade that flourished along the Potomac River during these years. Well armed with muskets obtained from Swedish, Dutch, and English traders, Susquehannock competitors from the north managed to control access to interior sources of supply by 1640. Like other powerful trading nations of the period, Susquehannocks attacked all competitors regarded as threats to their trade monopoly. Pursuing this policy, Susquehannocks periodically raided Potomac Valley towns and took numbers of Indian captives during their ten year war with Maryland and their Piscataway Indian allies between 1642 and 1652. The number of such captives in Susquehannock towns may account for the recorded use of Piscataway as the region's virtual **lingua franca** between English and Susquehannock traders.

Devastated by these raids, debilitated by internecine feuds, caught up in Virginian wars against the Powhatans, exposed to epidemic contagion, and forced from their townsites by new settlers from Maryland and Virginia, many Portobagos, Patawomekes, and Doegs moved away from the growing English tidewater settlements to the upper Rappahannock Valley by 1660. Others stayed where they were or settled on a reservation at Mattawoman near Indian Head set aside for their use sometime between 1666 and 1668 by settlers

purchasing their territory. No matter where they lived, these and other Rappahannock and Potomac Valley people increasingly turned to English colonists for material and spiritual aid. Working to secure amicable relations necessary for such assistance, most of the region's Indian people concluded treaties of friendship and cooperation with Virginian or Maryland authorities by the late 1600s.

While Virginians initially gave little more than lip service to conversion schemes, Jesuit priests and their Franciscan successors ministered to the many Indians flocking to their missions in and around Maryland's capital at St. Mary's City after 1642. Operating as independent traders, many missionaries themselves became sources of trade goods and diplomatic support for increasingly hard-pressed Potomac Valley Indian people before being forced from the region in 1655. Returning some years later, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries setting up new quarters at Port Tobacco continued to work with Piscataways, Susquehannocks, and other Indians in Maryland and Pennsylvania throughout the colonial era. A small disc-shaped brass gorget found at one of the Indian ossuaries excavated at Port Tobacco is similar to others dating between 1630 and 1700 from sites farther south in Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida (Waselkov 1989). This discovery corroborates other sources attesting to contacts between Indian people and Catholic missionaries throughout the Southeast during these years.

Maryland authorities gradually extended their authority over all Indians living within provincial boundaries. Farther south, Virginian officials pursued the same policies towards Indians living south of the Potomac River and their lower Delmarva Peninsula relatives. Although both provinces claimed sovereignty over Indians living within their borders, neither was able to protect Susquehannock refugees moving among them from Bacon's rebels in 1675.

Devastated by years of seemingly endless warfare and forced to sell much of their remaining lands to settlers, many Indians from the Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys began moving away after Bacon's Rebellion ended. Many moved north to lands recently vacated by devastated Susquehannock townsfolk. Others electing to remain along the Potomac moved farther upriver beyond the Fall Line by 1697. A few of these people returning to tidewater country in 1700 settled at reservations at Mattawoman and Pamunkey. Not to be confused with the Virginian town of the same name, the Maryland Pamunkey reservation did not attract many Indian people. Unwilling to live on poor land under close provincial supervision, many reservation residents soon began moving north to join friends and relatives in the Susquehanna Valley.

Newly discovered deposits at St. Mary's City NHL associated with the early historic community of Yoacomaco nominated in this theme study have the potential to yield significant new information on Indian life along the lower Potomac Valley at the time of contact. Farther south, archeological resources located on property within the Camden NHL

already designated for its 19th-century Italianate villa, contain extensive and well preserved deposits capable of yielding significant new information on Patawomeke, Machodoc, Nansatico, Portobago people living in and around the site during the last half of the 1600s. Quantities of hand wrought iron nails, gunflints, glass, European white clay tobacco pipes, and other European artifacts found in radiometrically dated deposits in the partially destroyed De Shazo site in Virginia also may shed new light on life in historically documented Nansatico or Upper Cuttatawomen communities.

Deposits containing Potomac Creek wares, aboriginally worked gunflints, glass beads, European white clay tobacco smoking pipes, and other materials at the Posey site in Indian Head Naval Ordnance Station, the recently discovered Piscataway Park site near the Accokeek NHL, and the earlier mentioned Little Marsh Creek site may shed new light on poorly known 17th-century upper tidewater Potomac Valley Indian communities. Archeologists working at the Cumberland site on the banks of the Patuxet River believe that they may have found the remains of Opament town noted on John Smith's map (McCary and Barka 1977; Smolek 1986). Deposits discovered at the 44 EX 3-5 site complex farther south contain an array of European stonewares, bottle glass fragments, and white clay pipes in association with plain and cord-marked Potomac Creek wares and aboriginal lithics. Similar assemblages have been identified at the protohistoric Potomac Creek site and the nearby Indian Point site believed to have been the subsequent home of the main Patawomeke werowance after 1608. Scattered deposits found at White Oak Point and other locales indicate that local Indian people may have intermittently continued to use such sites as warm weather oyster camps at various times during protohistoric and historic times. Deposits dominated by European materials found at the Owings site suggest that it was the locale of a small Indian household dating to the late 17th or early 18th-centuries.

Individual and mass interments dating to these years also have been found in this area. Copper, glass beads, and other objects associated with high status or power sometimes found in graves of individual adults or very young children are rarely encountered in early 17th-century ossuaries at Potomac Creek, Port Tobacco, and other locales. Increased numbers of European objects found in later 17th-century ossuaries like Mt. Airy in Virginia and the Piscataway Ossuary in Maryland may reflect higher mortality, increased economic opportunity, and socio-political changes associated with more intensive contact.

The Eighteenth Century

Relatively little is known about 18th-century Indian life in Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys. Large numbers of Indian people from the region had already moved farther north or east to Conoy or Nanticoke towns by 1700. Others, like many Doegs chronicled along the Mattaponi River, moved to more southerly locales. Still others, like Nansaticos and Portobagos living near Camden deported to Antigua in 1704 for killing a colonist,

disappeared from colonial records altogether after Virginian authorities began enumerating Indians as non-whites one year later. Maryland soon followed suit. Most Maryland Pamunkey Reservation people moved away by 1712. Although Robert Beverley reported that the Portobago and Rappahannock tribes no longer existed in the first edition of his "History of Virginia" published in 1705, the continued presence of people claiming Rappahannock ancestry in the area today indicates that his announcement of their demise proved to be premature (Beverley 1947).

Although direct documentation is spotty, surviving sources indicate that most Indian people remaining in the region lived unobtrusively in small rural enclaves scattered throughout coastal Maryland and Virginia. Most of these settlements are difficult to identify archeologically. Few written records document their existence. Like other Indians throughout the region, most native people staying in the region stopped making traditional aboriginal tools and implements by the first decades of the 18th-century. As a result, archeological deposits left by these people differ little from those produced by non-Indians. Evidence of 18th-century occupation at 44 NB 97, one of the few locales associated with Indian occupation at this time, currently consists of a single glass bead recovered from the surface of the site.

As elsewhere, most of these people married non-Indians or people from other tribes. Working as farmers, fisherfolk, laborers, servants, or artisans, many people tracing ancestry to the region's original inhabitants settled in towns and villages throughout the remaining decades of the 18th-century. Working or living with non-Indians, native people in Maryland and Virginia became increasingly enmeshed in the region's cash economy. By combining traditional knowledge with new tools, techniques, and materials, many of these people produced herbal remedies, baskets, straw brooms, and distinctive Camden or Colono wares.

Potters making Colono wares used traditional production methods to produce pottery incorporating what many scholars believe are European or African styles, shapes, and motifs. Citing oral traditions and noting strong similarities with West African pots, several scholars believe that African potters produced most Colono wares found in sites in Georgia and the Carolinas (Deetz 1988; Ferguson 1992). Other scholars support the view of Colono wares as Indian products first proposed by Ivor Noel-Hume (1962). Archeologist L. Daniel Mouer, for example, notes that Indian people constituted one third of the slave population thought to have been producing Colono wares in the South Carolina Lowcountry during the early 1700s (Mouer 1991). Examining Colono wares from Virginia and Maryland, Mouer and others (Binford 1965; Henry 1992) further have found that all occur on sites associated with Indian people. Most, moreover, appear to derive from aboriginal antecedents. Much remains to be learned about these wares. Discoveries of Colono pottery in sites containing otherwise undifferentiated assemblages of European materials, such as those found in deposits at the nominated Pamunkey Indian Reservation and the Camden NHL, have

potential to yield information on aspects of identity and community life in many poorly documented or now forgotten Indian, African American, and Creole communities.

Sources

A growing body of documentation is recording many aspects of historic Indian life in the Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys. Surveys by archeologist Stephen Potter (1980; 1982; n.d.), historian Frederick Fausz (1987), and anthropologist Christian Feest (1978a) provide excellent overviews of areal cultural developments. Other useful information may be found in earlier studies by David I. Bushnell (1937) and William J. Graham (1935) and more recent analyses conducted by Wayne E. Clark (1980), Larry E. Moore (1991a), and E. Randolph Turner (1976). In a provocative essay, archeologist Christine Jirikowic suggests that Potomac Indians politically used ossuaries to reinforce status distinctions and mark ethnic boundaries during late prehistoric and protohistoric times (Jirikowic 1990). Analyses of later historic Colono wares found in the Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys may be seen in Henry (1992). Significant syntheses of contemporary archeological, documentary, and oral information may be found in Boender (1988) and Cissna (1986). Historian James Merrell suggests that Piscataways used the fur trade and politics of accommodation to successfully adjust to European colonization (Merrell 1979). Other information on the Piscataways and their neighbors may be found in Feest (1978b), Marye (1935), and Porter (1986). James Axtell and Clifford M. Lewis briefly describe Jesuit and Franciscan missions in Maryland (Axtell 1985; C. Lewis 1988). Political relations are most extensively recorded in compilations of transcribed original documents edited by Browne, et al. (1883-1970), Gehring (1977 and 1981), and Robinson (W. Robinson 1983a and 1983b). Observations on Indian life written by early settlers, traders, and others may be found in Hall (1910) and Myers (1912).

Inventoried archeological properties located along the lower Potomac and Rappahannock River valleys dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Nottingham	Prince Georges Co, MD	1500s	X	dist	W. Clark 1974a
Accokeek Creek NHL	Prince Georges Co, MD	1500s	X	good	Stephenson & Ferguson 1963; Thurman 1972
Cumberland	Lusby, MD	1500s-1600s		dest	Smolek 1986
Indian Town Farm	Richmond Co, VA	1500s-1600s		unk	Potter 1982; n.d.
Leedstown Bead Cache	Westmoreland Co, VA	1500s-1600s		dest	Bushnell 1937
Patterson's Archeological District	Wallville, MD	1500s-1600s	X	dist	W. White & Clark 1981
Woodbury Farm Sites	Richmond Co, VA	1500s-1600s		unk	Potter 1982; n.d.
De Shazo	King George Co, VA	1575-1615		dest	MacCord 1965; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Port Tobacco	Charles Co, MD	1585-1642		dest	Graham 1935

Posey/Indian Head	Charles Co, MD	1500s-1600s		dist	Barse 1985
Little Marsh Creek	Lorton, VA	1500s-1600s		excel	L. Moore 1990; Turner 1990b
Owings	Northumberland Co, VA	1600-1700s		unk	Dalton 1974; Potter 1977; Turner 1990b
Piscataway Park	Prince Georges Co, MD	1600s		good	Vrabel & Cissna n.d.
White Oak Point	Westmoreland Co, VA	1600s		dist	Turner 1990b; VDHR; Waselkov 1982
44EX3-5	Essex Co, VA	1600s		unk	Turner 1990b; VDHR
Potomac Creek	Stafford Co, VA	1580-1610	X	good	Potter 1980 & 1989; Schmitt 1965; T.D. Stewart 1988; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Indian Point	Stafford Co, VA	1608-1630		dest	MacCord 1991b; T.D. Stewart 1998
St. Mary's City NHL	St. Mary's City, MD	1615-1695	X	excel	H. Miller 1983
Piscataway Ossuary	Prince Georges Co, MD	1630-1660		dest	Ferguson & Stewart 1940
Mount Airy	Warsaw, VA	1630-1660		dest	McCary 1950; Miller, Poque, & Smolek 1983; Turner 1990b
Blue Fish Beach	Northumberland Co, VA	mid-1600s		dest	Potter 1982; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Boathouse Pond	Northumberland Co, VA	mid-1600s		excel	Potter 1982; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Lloyd	Annapolis, MD	mid-1600s		dist	Luckenbach 1991
Camden NHL	Caroline Co, VA	1680-1710	X	excel	Hodges 1986a & 1986b; MacCord 1969; Turner 1990b; VHLC 1969
Downing	Northumberland Co, VA	1700s		excel	Miller, Pogue, & Smolek 1983; Potter 1982; Turner 1990b
Lazy Point	Fairfax Co, VA	undated		unk	L. Moore 1991b
Taft	Fairfax Co, VA	undated		unk	L. Moore 1988
44NB97	Northumberland Co, VA	undated		excel	Potter 1982; Turner 1990b

THE JAMES AND YORK RIVER VALLEYS

Eastern Algonquian-speaking people affiliated with the Powhatans and their neighbors have lived along tidewater portions of the James and York River drainages in Virginia throughout historic times. Most Indian people in the area were members of the Powhatan chiefdoms when English colonists established their first successful permanent settlement at Jamestown in the midst of their territories in 1607. Subjugated during a series of wars with settlers from 1609 to 1646, most Indians in the area subsequently moved to small rural enclaves where many of their descendants reside today.

The Sixteenth Century

Unlike other areas in the region, a body of written documentation details events in the James and York River valleys during the 16th-century. Several of these documents describe the establishment of the earlier mentioned Jesuit mission in 1570 and subsequent Spanish reprisals following its destruction one year later. Other documents record the rescue of a

Spanish boy saved by Virginian Indians after the mission's destruction. Another group of written records chronicles visits made by Roanoke colonist Ralph Lane to the coastal town of Chesepiuc near modern Virginia Beach in 1585 and 1586.

Most other information concerning 16th-century Indian life in the area comes from archeological sites excavated in the James River valley. Archeologists working in this area have discovered several ossuaries, camp sites, and remains of larger, occasionally fortified communities containing diagnostic triangular chipped stone projectile points, shell beads and ornaments, native copper, and distinctive ceramic assemblages dominated by variants of shell tempered Townsend and sand or crushed quartz tempered Cashie-Branchville wares.

Searching for deposits everywhere in Virginia, many archeologists have looked for sites at locales of Indian towns mapped by John Smith in 1608. Although archeological deposits have been found in and around almost every place on Smith's map, few of these sites contain unequivocal evidence of protohistoric occupation. Instead, most contain earlier or presently undatable deposits. The number of such sites along the James and York Rivers continues to dwindle as development obliterates archeological resources. Some properties on public lands in this area, like those located in Colonial National Historical Park, are protected by federal law. Others on private lands, like Pasbehegh site deposits possibly dating to protohistoric times within the Governors Land at Two Rivers development under construction in James City County, can only be protected by landowners sensitive to preservation concerns.

Early test excavations conducted by archeologists employed by Governors Land developers have revealed the presence of numerous house patterns, pits, ossuaries, and other deposits containing pottery, stone tools, shell, copper objects, and other materials dating to terminal Late Woodland times. Located at the point of land documented by John Smith and others as the site of a Pasbehegh town when English colonists first settled in Jamestown in 1607, these deposits may collectively comprise several occupational episodes associated with late prehistoric and protohistoric life in tidewater Virginia (Luccketti and Leigh 1990a and 1990b).

Like deposits believed to date to protohistoric times at nearby Colonial National Historical Park, Jordan's Journey (possibly the site of a protohistoric Weyanoke town), and other locales, no objects of European origin have yet been identified in clear association with aboriginal materials at Pasbehegh. Some scholars believe that terminal Late Woodland deposits found at the multi-component Hatch site also may date as late as the 1500s.

Although evidence found at the Hatch, Jordan's Journey, and other archeological locales in the James and York Valleys is equivocal and fragmentary, most scholars currently believe that chiefdoms of the type chronicled by early European observers first developed autochthonously in the area by the 1300s (Turner 1986). Archeologist Lewis R. Binford was one

of the first investigators to recognize continuities in the area's known late prehistoric record (Binford 1991). Surveying extant archeological, environmental, and documentary records, Binford suggested that chiefdoms in the region emerged as a result of technological changes, population increases, and contacts with more complex Mississippian societies farther south and west (Binford 1991).

The Seventeenth Century

Although estimates vary, many modern investigators believe that some 8,000 of the 13,000 people living in communities belonging to the Powhatan Chiefdom may have lived within its heartland between the James and York Rivers in 1607 (Turner 1982). Although all people in this area spoke one of at least two known dialects of the Powhatan language, not all simultaneously regarded themselves as members of the Powhatan Chiefdom. This chiefdom was the most complex stratified native social order to emerge anywhere along the Northeastern coast prior to European invasion. Surviving written accounts indicate that people belonging to the Powhatan Chiefdom and others in the region organized themselves into a hierarchy of hereditary ruling families led by a paramount werowances or chiefs, a priesthood, councils of experienced hunters and warriors, and commoners (Rountree 1989).

Vigorously expansionistic, Powhatan chiefs claimed varying degrees of sovereignty over nearly every Indian community located in the James and York River Valleys in 1607. Only nearby independent-minded Chickahominys and more distant Rappahannock Valley and Eastern Shore people resisted Powhatan authority. Early English observers such as John Smith and William Strachey wrote that Wahunsonacock, the chiefdom's paramount chief at that time, controlled nearly every aspect of life in his domain. Intent upon weakening old alliances and promoting new senses of solidarity, Wahunsonacock rewarded loyalty and relocated entire communities thought to be disobedient or rebellious (Barker 1992b; Rountree 1989). Describing his control over Powhatan economic affairs, they wrote that Wahunsonacock exacted tribute from constituents in the form of corn, forced labor, shell beads, skins, and European goods. One recent study indicates that the paramount chief may have extracted as much as 80 percent of the total production of some constituent communities in tribute (Barker 1992a). Although most of this tribute was redistributed to followers, Powhatan leaders invested much of their people's resources in the burgeoning regional trade network based upon exchange of native furs, food, and other products for European glass beads, copper or brass hoops, spirals, and beads, and other items. Archeologists surveying the surface of Tree Hill Farm fields recently discovered stoneware, case glass, and English flint fragments among Late Woodland aboriginal stone tools and pottery sherds at a locale chronicled by John Smith and Gabriel Archer as Powhatan's Town (McLearen and Binns 1992).

Like other people living in similar circumstances, many Indians living in and around the Powhatan heartland uneasily accepted Wahunsonacock's overlordship. Although most of

these people probably appreciated his well-documented generosity to followers or feared his equally documented exercise of power, many undoubtedly wished for independence or autonomy. Others dreamed of seizing power for themselves. Enterprising colonists ignoring contradictory directives from their home government took full advantage of these cleavages in Powhatan social fabric in the wars that broke out shortly after the establishment of their first settlements.

Concerned by English challenges to his authority and all too clearly understanding their ultimate aims, Wahunsonacock led his people against the Virginians in the First Powhatan War in 1609. Although Powhatan warriors almost succeeded in destroying the Virginian settlement during the first year of the conflict, settlers aided by Patawomeke and Eastern Shore Indian allies anxious to free themselves from Powhatan domination helped them hold on.

The war continued on inconclusively for years. Indian communities like Powhatan's Town and Pasbehegh were burned and their inhabitants killed, enslaved, or turned into refugees. Unable to travel freely and continually on guard, Virginian trade and commerce ground to a halt. Exhausted by the interminable struggle, the belligerents finally negotiated an uneasy peace on the occasion of the marriage of Wahunsonacock's daughter Pocahontas to Virginian John Rolfe in 1614.

Although peace ended the violence and reopened commerce, it did not significantly improve relations between the Powhatans and their fractious English neighbors. Renewed English provocations angered the Powhatans and alienated their Indian allies. Wahunsonacock evidently abdicated in favor of his brother Opitchapam and moved to the community of May-umps on the Potomac River in 1617. Throwing their support behind the Pamunkey chief Opechancanough, Chickahominys and other Indian people joined a new coalition whose sole aim was the removal of all English settlers from Chesapeake Bay shores. United as never before and outraged by the English murder of their warrior prophet Nemattanew, coalition warriors launched coordinated attacks that succeeded in killing more than one-third of the colonists on March 22, 1622.

This second Powhatan War dragged on for more than a decade as adversaries alternately traded with and fought against one another. Indians tried to arrange truces to grow and harvest corn. Virginians often broke such truces just as the corn ripened. Years passed as coalition warriors continually waylaid unwary English travellers while Virginian raiders effectively adopting Indian tactics plundered cornfields, destroyed fishing weirs, and razed tidewater Indian towns like Moyaone and Patawomeke.

The Powhatans and their allies suffered dreadfully. Hundreds were killed as communities like Opechancanough's home town of Pamunkey were attacked and burned. Demoralized,

exhausted, and increasingly isolated, Opechancanough accepted an English offer to end hostilities in 1636.

The 1636 peace proved to be shortlived. Unwilling to accept English hegemony, Opechancanough once again assembled a coalition to strike the Virginian settlements. On April 18, 1644, his warriors killed or captured more than 500 settlers. Recovering quickly, Virginians soon retaliated. Aided by Rappahannock and Accomack allies, English columns quickly defeated the much reduced Powhatans. Opechancanough himself was murdered by a guard shortly after being captured in 1646. Hundreds of other Indian people taken prisoner in the fighting were sold into slavery. Devastated by these losses, the Powhatans finally sued for peace in 1646.

By skillfully exploiting Indian rivalries, Virginians had successfully played contending native communities and factions off against one another. Outgunned, often outmaneuvered, and possibly suffering from epidemic diseases known to have struck neighbors to the north and south, chiefdom coalitions plagued by internal disputes could not cohesively resist Virginian invasion. Repeatedly attacked by colonists and Indian enemies, the Powhatan Chiefdom itself finally dissolved following the murder of Opechancanough in 1646.

Dictating terms to the defeated Indians, Virginian authorities forced them to cede the heart of their territories and recognize English sovereignty over their lands and lives. No longer able to resist, Powhatans accepting these terms moved to small supervised communities established within ancestral lands. The nominated Pamunkey Reservation typified Virginian reservation life. Located in a remote part of the province, Pamunkey encompassed some 2,000 acres of land mostly consisting of swamp, marsh, and heavy forest. Unable to adequately support themselves on such reservations and forced to compete in labor markets dominated by planters using slave labor, many Indians had to make livings by binding themselves out as indentured servants. Others ultimately found themselves working involuntarily after being enslaved for debt or crimes against settlers.

Powhatans and other tidewater Indian people finding it hard to make a living also had to contend with other problems. Susquehannock trade rivals, Bacon's rebels, and Iroquois raiders periodically killed or captured many Indian people living in and around tidewater Virginia during the latter half of the 17th-century. Several Powhatan people visiting or living with Potomac and Piscataway people were killed or captured by Susquehannock warriors during their war with the Maryland colony and their Indian allies between 1642 and 1652. Virginian settlers killed others during Bacon's uprising in 1675. Still others were killed while hunting farther west by Iroquois war parties travelling the Great Warrior's Trail to attack their Catawba and Cherokee enemies after Bacon's rebels forced the Susquehannocks to leave the region. Although currently known records are unclear on the subject, some Virginia tidewater Indian people may have moved west beyond the reach of provincial

authorities and Iroquois war parties. Other records more clearly show that other people, like the Weanocks and Nansemonds, moved south to Nottoway and Meherrin country.

Most Powhatans, Chickahominys, Mattaponis, and other tidewater Indian people remaining in the more remote portions of ancestral territory set aside for them by Virginian authorities. Living quietly, they tried to avoid contact with provincial authorities whenever possible. As a result, few documents record their presence in the area after Bacon's rebels dispersed and returned to their homes. Surviving records indicate the number of Indian people living between the James and the York Rivers at the end of the century had dwindled to less than five percent of their 1607 population. Like Middle Atlantic Indians elsewhere, these people increasingly adopted English customs, religion, and speech. Unable to find suitable spouses in their own tiny communities, many married people from other tribes or non-Indian neighbors.

Known archeological deposits reflect these developments. Although objects of European origin have been reported in association with aboriginal deposits at a number of early 17th-century Chickahominy complex properties, formal site reports detailing these findings have not yet been published (McCary and Barka 1977). Farther east, clearly identifiable materials of European origin have not yet been found within locales of historically chronicled contemporary Accomac and Accohanock sites (Opperman and Turner n.d.).

Mixed deposits of late prehistoric Indian house patterns, stone tools, pottery, and early historic European metal tools, weapons, and other materials dating from the late 1500s to the 1630s have been excavated at Flowerdew Hundred Plantation sites (Barka 1975). Some investigators regard the small numbers of European artifacts found with aboriginal materials within intact features in well-preserved portions of the Hatch site as evidence of 17th-century contact between Indians and Europeans in the area.

Gaston and Roanoke pottery found in English trash pits discovered during recent salvage excavations at the Jordan's Journey site graphically documents early intercultural relations. Found at the site of a large fortified English settlement (occupied from 1620 to 1635) built on the site of an earlier Weyanoke Indian town abandoned sometime between 1607 and 1620, these findings may represent the remains of pots containing corn or other produce obtained from Indian people (Mouer 1992b).

Deposits of clearly associated aboriginal stone tools, Colono wares, and objects of European origin such as glass beads and smelted metal have been excavated from sites located within the nominated Pamunkey Reservation established at the site of one of their principal towns in 1653. A shell bead necklace strung on iron wire found in one of several human burials discovered at Maycock's Point also may date to the 1600s.

The Eighteenth Century

Little archeological or documentary evidence of Indian life in the James and York River valleys during the 1700s is known. Although some Nansemonds, Chickahominys, and others moved farther south and west by mid-century, most Powhatans, Mattaponis, and neighboring Indian people remained in their tidewater communities throughout the century. Although individuals tracing descent from these and other local Indian ancestors continue to live in the state today, colonial Virginian authorities generally only recognized people living on provincial reservations at Gingaskin, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey as Indians after declaring all other native people non-Whites in 1705.

As elsewhere, most of these people continued to live unobtrusively in small rural enclaves scattered between the York and James River valleys. Difficult to identify archeologically and almost undocumented in surviving archives, their houses and towns gradually came to closely resemble those built by non-Indians. Most of these people stopped making traditional aboriginal tools and implements by the first decades of the 18th-century. As a result, archeological deposits left by these people differ little from those produced by non-Indians.

Most of these people married non-Indians or people from other tribes. Working as farmers, fisherfolk, laborers, servants, or artisans, they frequently settled in towns and villages throughout the remaining decades of the 18th-century. Working or living with non-Indians, they became increasingly enmeshed in the region's cash economy. By combining traditional knowledge with new tools, techniques, and materials, many produced herbal remedies, baskets, straw brooms, and distinctive Colono wares.

Deposits located within the nominated Pamunkey Reservation contain the single largest known body of materials capable of shedding new light on poorly known aspects of 18th-century Indian life in the area.

Sources

The wide range of sources document Indian life in the James and York River country during the historic contact period. Extensive surveys may be found in studies by Feest (1978b) and Rountree (1989 and 1990). Maps contrasting archeological data with early historic maps in tidewater country may be seen in Feest (1978b:255) and McCary and Barka (1977).

The abortive 16th-century Jesuit mission is discussed in Gradie (1988) and Lewis and Loomie (1953). Arguing from slender sources, Bridenbaugh suggests that the Don Luis who led the attacks that destroyed the Spanish Jesuit colony later grew up to be Opechancanough (Bridenbaugh 1980 and 1981). See Fausz (1981) for a biographical sketch of Opechancanough challenging Bridenbaugh's hypothesis. Fausz (1985) and Quinn (1985) provide

succinct accounts of relations between Indian people and early English explorers and colonists from the founding of Roanoke in 1584 to the early years of the Virginian colony.

European observers, such as Virginians Robert Beverley (1947), John Smith (Barbour 1986), and William Strachey (1953) recorded many aspects of Indian life in the James and York River valleys. Other sources may be found in Quinn, Quinn, and Hillyer (1979), W. Robinson (1983a and 1983b), and Tyler (1907). These accounts provide important insights into early historic tidewater Virginian Indian social organization, spiritual beliefs, economic life, and political relations. Other important primary published materials may be consulted in McIlwaine (1918-1919 and 1925-1945) and the above mentioned compilations of provincial records edited by W. Stitt Robinson (1983a and 1983b). Studies by Barker (1992a), Binford (1991), Fausz (1985 and 1988), Feest (1978b), Gleach (1990), Potter (1982; 1989; n.d.), Rountree (1989 and 1990), and Turner (1985) survey aspects of intercultural relations in Virginia. Materials relating to Powhatan linguistics may be found in Siebert (1975).

No general survey of historic contact period archeology in the area currently exists. Howard A. MacCord provides a useful summary on the state of contact studies in Virginia (MacCord 1989). Dissertations by Stephen R. Potter (1982) and E. Randolph Turner (1976) also contain vital information. Few reports detailing findings from particular sites known to contain European and aboriginal deposits in close association have been published. Further research is needed in order to clearly date wholly aboriginal assemblages like those found at Pasbehegh to the historic contact period.

Inventoried properties located in the James and York River valleys believed to date to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Colonial NHP	Jamestown, VA	1500s-1600s	X	good	NPS 1987
Hatch	Prince George Co, VA	1500s-1600s	X	excel	Gregory 1980; Loth, McCartney, & Luccketti 1978; MacCord 1989; Turner 1990b; Turner & Opperman 1989; VDHR
Pasbehegh	James City Co, VA	1550-1610		dist	Luccketti & Leigh 1990a; 1990b
Jordan's Journey	Prince George Co, VA	1500s-1600s			Mouer 1992
Tree Hill Farm	Henrico Co, VA	1500s-1600s		good	McLearen & Binns 1992
Kiser	Petersburg, VA	1600s		dist	Buchanan 1985; MacCord 1989; Turner 1990b
Chickahominy Complex					
Buck					
Edgehill					
Harwood					
Osborne Landing					
Potts	Chickahominy vic, VA	1600s	X	unk	McCary & Barka 1977; Turner 1990b; VHLC 1974

Flowerdew Hundred Plantation	Prince George Co, VA	-1619	X	good	Barka 1975	
Pamunkey Reservation	King William Co, VA	1646-pres	X	excel	McCartney & Hodges 1982; Norrisey 1980; Turner1990b	
Maycock's Point	Prince George Co, VA	undated			good	MacCord 1989; Turner 1990b

THE NOTTOWAY AND MEHERRIN RIVER VALLEYS

The Sixteenth Century

Although Roanoke settler Ralph Lane may have visited Indian people living along the Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers in Virginia in 1586, archeological remains represent the only unequivocally identifiable evidence of 16th-century Indian life in the area. Little evidence of this kind has yet been found. Deposits of aboriginal pottery and stone tools similar to others recovered from sites containing objects of European origin have been excavated at the John Green sites. At the Hand site, a pair of scissors, two scraps of sheet iron, and a chipped piece of chalcedony thought to have been part of a French gunflint have been found in pits containing large amounts of shell tempered ceramics.

The Seventeenth Century

Edward Bland's 1650 account of his journey along the lower reaches of the Nottoway and Meherrin River valleys contains the earliest known record of direct contact between Indian people and Europeans in the area. Meeting Meherrin and Nottoway people living along the rivers now bearing their names, Bland wrote that they knew at least one interpreter from Fort Henry (near modern Petersburg, Virginia) and were aware of the Powhatan Wars and other developments to the north. Also noting that they feared firearms, he stated that they possessed no such weapons, owned few European goods, and showed little evidence of extensive contact with colonists.

Bland wrote that Nottoways lived in communities known as Rowantee, Tonnatorah, and Cohanahanhaka in 1650. Writing about the Meherrins, he noted that they lived in a single community known as Cowinchahawkon. Archeologist Lewis Binford believes that these settlements consisted of several widely separated plantations containing from one to five mat-covered roundhouses (Binford 1991). Several may have been surrounded by palisade fortifications. When living at winter hunting camps, these people constructed oblong ridge-roofed houses.

Several hundred Weanock refugees fleeing fighting farther north during the last Powhatan War moved to land between Blackwater River and Somerton Creek near the Nottoway River. Moving into a number of settlements around the modern town of Courtland, they established their principal village at Warekeck in 1653. Weanock people living in and around Warekeck were periodically attacked by Nansemonds and Tuscaroras at their new towns. Unable to defend themselves against these assaults, they appealed to Virginian authorities for help. Demanding that the Weanocks submit to provincial authority, Virginians subsequently conducted several reprisal raids on behalf of their clients. Subsequently attacked by Tuscarora and Nottoway warriors in 1681, most Weanocks making their peace with their neighbors subsequently moved to Nottoway towns sometime around 1693.

English records indicate that at least 700 Meherrin and Nottoway people lived in four communities in 1669. A few hundred Weanocks lived nearby. Generally avoiding involvement in Bacon's Rebellion, most Nottoway and Meherrin Valley Indian people formally accepted Virginian jurisdiction over their lands at the Middle Plantation treaty ending the fighting in 1677. Under the treaty's terms, the Virginians pledged to limit their settlements to lands north and east of the Blackwater River. In return, Nottoway, Meherrin, Weanock, and other Indian people living in the province agreed to recognize Virginian authority, make token tribute payments, patrol the province's exposed southwestern frontier, and trade deerskins for firearms, kettles, cloth, and other things at provincial posts.

Most Nottoways moved farther downriver toward the Blackwater River border in 1681. Building their "Great Town" in Assamoosick Swamp, they remained in and around the place until 1733. At the same time, Meherrin people moved farther down their river to Tawarra town. Thought to have been located at the mouth of Tawarra Creek near Boykins, Virginia, most of the town's inhabitants moved to a new settlement at the mouth of the Meherrin River on the Chowan River in North Carolina sometime between 1710 and 1720. Remaining there until 1731, descendants of these people continue to live in and around Winton and Ahoskie, North Carolina.

Intact house patterns, hearths, pits, and human burials associated with late 17th and early 18th-century Indian occupations in this area have been found at the John Green sites. Other materials have been found on the surface at 44 SX 198 and other Sussex County sites. Materials found in both locales include chipped quartz triangular projectile points and sherds of distinctive terminal Late Woodland Cashie, Branchville, and Courtland wares in association with European stonewares, wrought-iron nails, and other contemporary diagnostic European objects. Colono wares and aboriginal stone tools found in several features excavated at Rose Hill (identified as C-1 in the Binford survey) suggest this site may have been both the locale of the historically chronicled principal Weanock refugee town of Warekeck between 1653 and 1666 and a later briefly occupied Nottoway townsite known to have been built on the same spot in 1695 (Binford 1991).

The Eighteenth Century

Reports written by several European observers show that many Nottoway people continued to live along the lower reaches of their river around Assamoosick Swamp at the turn of the century. Virginian authorities established a reservation six miles in diameter at Assamoosick in 1705. Another plot of land was reserved for their use below the southern banks of the Nottoway River. Increasingly hemmed in by settlers moving south from Virginia, Nottoways found settlers moving as close as three miles from their reservation borders by 1710.

Describing their main town during Virginian governor Alexander Spotswood's visit to the area to secure their support against the Tuscarora's when fighting broke out with settlers in nearby North Carolina 1711, William Byrd wrote that they tended planting fields and raised hogs while living in bark cabins in and around a square-shaped fort. Guarding the frontier during the war, Nottoway warriors kept the fighting from spilling over into Virginia. Thanking the Nottoways for their service, Virginian authorities stood quietly by as settlers no longer fearing Tuscarora attack began moving south into their country in increasingly greater numbers shortly after the worst of the fighting ended in 1713.

Meherrin people closely associated with Virginian trader Robert Hicks also continued to live in the Emporia area during the first decades of the century. Moving south to North Carolina during the 1720s and 1730s, their descendants continue to live in and around the towns of Winton and Ahoskie today.

More than 300 Siouian-speaking Saponi Indians from southwestern Virginia relocated themselves at Fort Christanna on the Meherrin River above the Fall Line in the Virginia piedmont at Governor Spotswood's invitation between 1714 and 1716. Saponi men joined Nottoways and Meherrins patrolling the frontier as their children, often referred to in Spotswood's correspondence as hostages, attended classes in the fort taught by a school master hired by the governor. As described by a visitor in 1716, the Saponi town consisted of a circular group of bark roofed houses of squared timbers opening onto a central plaza.

Saponi people continued to live in this town after Virginian authorities abandoned the Fort Christanna post in 1718. Moving within the fort walls, most stayed there until 1732. After that, many of these people joined other Saponis and Tuteloes moving north to refugee Indian towns along the Susquehanna River.

Reduced to less than 200 people by smallpox, warfare, and alcohol, Nottoways sold their Assamoosick Swamp reservation and moved south to their remaining lands in 1734. Living quietly, they were joined there by Nansemond refugees in 1744. The few records documenting their life during these years focus on land sales and Nottoway service in British armies fighting the French. Gradually leasing or selling off nearly all of their remaining lands by 1772, Nottoways all but disappeared from European documentary records for more

than a century after state authorities dissolved their reservation in 1824. Today, hundreds of people tracing descent to Nottoway ancestors make their homes throughout the region. Numbers of other descendants of Saponi people remaining in Virginian after their main body moved north to Susquehanna also continue to live at various locales across southwestern Virginia.

Few archeological sites currently are associated with 18th-century Indian life in the Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys in Virginia. Preliminary surface tests have recovered evidence that may be associated with Nottoway occupation at the earlier site of the Weanock town of Warekeck at Rose Hill. More substantial deposits have been excavated by archeologists working at the John Green sites. Extensive testing has unearthed postmolds associated with as many as five circular house patterns measuring from ten to 14 feet in diameter associated with Meherrin people living near Richard Hicks's trading post at this locale before 1720.

Deposits located in and around these houses contain lead musket balls, spoons and other copper objects, glass beads, European white clay tobacco pipes, gun parts, and other items of European manufacture. Archeologists also have recovered well preserved materials such as bone knife handles, small fragments of woolen blankets, pieces of split cane matting, a gourd cup, and a copper-wrapped yarn belt decorated with woven diamond-shaped patterns. Binford has reported finding sand-tempered Courtland wares and shell-tempered Colono wares with other materials in surface deposits at sites C-3, C-8, and C-10. These properties may represent remains of Nottoway towns dating from 1700 to 1770.

Archeological excavations conducted at Fort Christanna have uncovered palisade post molds and recovered glass beads, metal gun parts, British ceramics, Colono wares, and other materials within the fort. Excavators also have unearthed foundations and other features at the site of the mansion Governor Spotswood built near the fort in 1717. Other artifacts have been found at the locale believed to be the site of the Saponi town.

Sources

Binford (1967 and 1991), Boyce (1978), and G. Smith (1984) provide general archeological and ethnohistorical surveys of Meherrin, Nottoway, and Weanock life. Information bearing upon Saponi occupations at Fort Christanna may be found in Hazzard and McCartney (1979) and McCartney and Hazzard (1979). Archeologists believe that most later deposits found at the John Green locale probably are associated with the Indian town established near the Virginian trading post built by Richard Hicks at Emporia sometime before 1710.

Binford (1991) and Boyce (1978) provide comprehensive overviews summarizing what is known about 18th-century life in the Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys. Rountree (1973) follows Nottoway cultural development from later colonial times to the present.

Inventoried archeological properties located in the Nottoway and Meherrin River valleys dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Hand	Southampton Co, VA	1500s		dist	G. Smith 1984; Turner 1990b; VDHR
John Green	Emporia, VA	1500s	X	good	MacCord 1970; VHLC 1983; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Ellis	Southampton Co, VA	1600s		unk	Turner 1990b; VDHR
44SX198	Sussex Co, VA	1600s-1700s		good	Turner 1990b; VDHR
Rose Hill/C-1	Capron, VA	1653-1700	X	good	Binford 1991; VHLC 1979
C-8	Southampton, VA	1700		unk	Binford 1991
C-3	Southampton Co, VA	1705-1745		unk	Binford 1991
Fort Christanna	Brunswick Co, VA	1714-1732	X	good	Beaudry 1979; Hazzard & McCartney 1979; McCartney & Hazzard 1979; Turner 1990b; VDHR
C-10	Southampton Co, VA	1730-1770		unk	Binford 1991

SUSQUEHANNOCKS IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION

The Seventeenth Century

As the preceding sections show, Susquehannocks pervasively influenced developments throughout the region during much of the 17th-century. By 1608, they had long been harassed by hinterland Massawomeck Iroquoians (Pendergast 1991a). During that same year, John Smith recorded that they had reduced the Tockwogh Nanticokes to subservience. Subsequent Susquehannock inability to control the Tockwoghs and other clients aligning themselves with neighboring colonists ultimately led them to declare war against the Conoys and their Maryland allies in 1642. Lasting for ten years, this struggle weakened both people and led to an era of bad feelings that finally broke out into the open war that finally forced the Susquehannocks to abandon the region in 1675.

All of this was in the future when confident and well armed Susquehannock merchants seized control of the Chesapeake Bay fur trade during the first decades of the 1600s. Continually forced to defend their trade monopoly, Susquehannocks ravaged by epidemic disease tried to replenish declining numbers by marrying or adopting prisoners captured during forays against Iroquois or Piscataway towns. Despite these efforts, they collectively probably never numbered more than 8,000 people at any time during the 17th-century.

Although their main towns were located farther north along the lower reaches of the Susquehanna River, events occurring at three locales in the Middle Atlantic region decisively affected Susquehannock life. The first two of the locales, Kent and Palmer Islands, were the sites of their most important trade entrepots with Virginian merchants. The third was the earlier mentioned Susquehannock Fort built by Susquehannock refugees near the former site of Moyaone at Piscataway Creek invited to settle on the banks of the Potomac River by Maryland authorities in 1674.

Virginian traders established the Kent Island trading post in 1630. Drawn to this stable source of metal tools and weapons, firearms, cloth, glass beads, and other European manufactures, Susquehannocks periodically brought beaver pelts obtained from tribes to the north and west to the island. Initially carried on by Accomack County interpreters brought to the island by tidewater entrepreneurs, it subsequently came to be coordinated by local settlers of African descent familiar with the Susquehannock language.

Colonial records suggest that they frequently had only enough trade goods on hand to secure half of the pelts offered by visiting Susquehannocks. Marylanders refusing to tolerate such economic competition in territory claimed under their charter finally drove the Virginians away in 1638. Angered by this attack on their Virginian friends and alienated by Maryland's alliance with local Conoy Indians, most Susquehannocks took their business to newly established Swedish traders on the Delaware. Susquehannock warriors soon began to plunder Maryland and Conoy settlements. Fighting for more than ten years, the Susquehannocks finally made peace with their Maryland enemies in 1652.

Resuming business with their old trade partners, neither they nor their English clients were able to fully revive the Chesapeake Bay trade. Violent internecine conflicts dividing Chesapeake colonists depressed commerce. Farther north, renewed outbreaks of warfare with Senecas and other Iroquois League nations intent upon monopolizing their own access to interior sources of supply increasingly preoccupied Susquehannocks.

Seneca raids obliterated the towns of contending Hurons, Neutrals, Petuns, Eries, and other hinterland Iroquoian Susquehannock trading partners during the late 1640s and early 1650s. Susquehannock towns also came under Seneca attack during this time. Relentlessly raiding their towns and those of their allies, Senecas and other Iroquois League warriors devastated the Susquehanna Valley. Many Susquehannock people were killed or captured during these raids. Exhausted and demoralized, most Susquehannocks complied with the Maryland governor's demand that they move to his province in 1674. Maryland authorities hoping to use the Susquehannocks as border guards directed the refugees to build their settlement along their northwestern frontier near the present site of Washington, D.C. Not willing to settle in so exposed a location, Susquehannock leaders instead located their fort nearer to the heart of English settlements at the former site of a Piscataway town on Accokeek Creek.

Rebellious settlers resenting provincial authorities and mindful of earlier Susquehannock attacks quickly resolved to drive both from the province. The struggle that followed, known as Bacon's Rebellion, nearly toppled the Virginia government. It began when Virginian settlers, enraged by the Doeg seizure of several hogs taken from a Maryland trader refusing to pay his debts, murdered several Doegs and 14 Susquehannocks during the summer of 1675. Shortly thereafter, more than 1,000 Maryland and Virginia militiamen besieged the Susquehannock Fort. Settlers murdered five of their most important chiefs after calling them out of the fort for a parley. Resisting the siege for several weeks, the Susquehannocks and their Doeg allies broke out and escaped to the southwest to an area near the Occaneechi towns along the Roanoke River. Avenging the murder of their chiefs, Susquehannocks ranging from Roanoke country raided Virginian frontier settlements for more than a year.

A subsequent retaliatory force led by Nathaniel Bacon enlisted Occaneechi help against the Susquehannocks. Murdering several Susquehannock captives, Bacon's men turned on their Occaneechi allies after the Susquehannock main body evaded a trap set for them. Frustrated by their failure to destroy the Susquehannocks and embittered against all Indians, Virginian settlers murdered peaceful Indians everywhere in the province. Many Indian people living in reservation communities near English settlements were killed.

The Susquehannocks largely disappeared from European records for a time after unsuccessfully petitioning the governors of New York and Pennsylvania for asylum. Some may have moved south. Others may have moved to Iroquois communities (Tooker 1984, but see contra Jennings 1984). Still others probably took shelter among Delawares along the upper reaches of the Schuylkil River. These and other Susquehannocks joined Senecas establishing a new community at Conestoga under Cayuga supervision near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1690.

Sources

Fausz (1988) summarizes the often tortuous course of Susquehannock diplomacy in Chesapeake country. General surveys of 17th-century Susquehannock affairs have been written by Jennings (1968b and 1978) and Kent (1984). A important account of the Susquehanna Country trade may be found in Jennings (1967). Accounts of Bacon's Rebellion may be found in Jennings (1984), Webb (1984), and Washburn (1957).

Much less information is available on specific Susquehannock sites in the Middle Atlantic region. The late archeologist Charles Hunter, for example, located an archival reference dated 1689 to a "Susquehanna Indian Town" in Delaware country along the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania provincial records (C. Hunter 1983). Archeological evidence of this site and Susquehannock entrepots on Kent and Palmer Islands have not yet been identified.

Earthworks and European goods associated with Indian occupation at the Susquehannock Fort at Accokeek Creek are described in Stephenson and Ferguson (1963).

Inventoried archeological properties associated with Susquehannock life in the Middle Atlantic region during historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Susquehannock Fort	Prince Georges Co, MD	1675			Stephenson & Ferguson 1963

EUROPEAN-INDIAN CONTACT IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION

The Sixteenth Century

Earlier-mentioned written records document brief visits by mariners such as Verrazzano or short-lived settlements like Ajacan in the region. No identifiable evidence directly attributable to these or other encounters known to have occurred along Middle Atlantic shores during the 1500s have yet been found by archeologists.

The Seventeenth Century

As the foregoing pages show, ever-increasing numbers of newcomers from Europe and Africa overwhelmed rapidly decreasing Middle Atlantic native populations during the 1600s. Despite high epidemic mortality rates, total immigrant population in the region rose from nearly nothing to more than 125,000 at the end of the century. During the same period, Indian populations dropped from perhaps as many as 50,000 people to less than a tenth of that number. Desolated by such losses, depopulated Indian communities could do little to stop settlers from colonizing virtually every part of the region by 1700.

Although several thousand moved in and around Delaware Bay, most of these colonists settling in the Chesapeake Bay region. No matter where they settled, all moved into Indian country from centers like Jamestown, St. Mary's City, and Fort Casimir located at strategic intervals along the inner coast. Unlike their town-dwelling countryfolk to the north, most settlers moving onto more southerly Middle Atlantic Indian lands employed less intensive settlement strategies. Only a few settlers moved to small concentrated settlements like Jamestown, St. Mary's City, and Williamsburg. The rest fanned out across the tidewater flatlands establishing tobacco plantations. Living in largely self-supporting communities maintained by slave labor, plantations were linked to regional administrative centers,

markets, churches, ordinaries (taverns), docks, and one another by networks of roads and waterways.

Farther north, English, Dutch, and Swedish colonists settled in smaller farm holdings scattered throughout the lower Delaware Valley. Most of these settlements initially were situated along the western shores of Delaware Bay at sites like Lewes, Fort Christina, and Tinicum Island. Other settlements subsequently were established by English Quaker settlers on the east bank of the Delaware River in West Jersey after 1676. More intensive settlement of the region began several years later when Quaker William Penn established his proprietary government at Philadelphia in 1681.

As in the north, small settlements initially grew alongside fortified posts. Many of these posts, such as Fort Christina and Fort Casimir, were constructed along the coast. City life, by contrast, developed slowly in the region. Recent analysis has shown that St. Mary's City, built on the site of the Yoacomaco Indian town in 1634, was the region's first planned city (H. Miller 1988). Fully developed urban centers using modern grid-patterned townplans did not fully emerge in the Middle Atlantic colonies until Penn began constructing Philadelphia in 1681.

As elsewhere, the locations or dimensions of most of the many historically documented forts, meeting halls, and other points of intercultural contact between Indians and Europeans along the Middle Atlantic coast have not yet been clearly identified archeologically. Few structures associated with these locales survive intact to the present day.

Only a small number of European settlements presently are known to contain archeological remains of intercultural encounters in the region. Many sites possessing the potential to contain such information have been destroyed. Others have not yet been fully mapped or evaluated.

As mentioned earlier, St. Mary's City contains the one of the best known and most extensively recorded assemblages of resources documenting contact between Indians, Europeans, and Africans in the region (Chaney and Miller 1989 and 1990; Hall 1910; H. Miller 1983). Properties located in and around Colonial National Historical Park contains archeological remains of early English homesteads and other properties associated with the Jamestown settlement. Several of these properties, like Martin's Hundred and Jordan's Journey, reveal evidence of Indian trade and warfare. Forts Christina and Casimir were sites of numerous treaty meetings and other encounters between Swedish and succeeding Dutch colonists and Delaware or Susquehannock traders and diplomats. Recent testing of deposits believed to be associated with Printzhof, the headquarters of New Sweden governor Johan Printz between 1643 and 1653, has unearthed several artifacts possibly associated with European occupation during the Swedish regime. While present evidence is inconclusive, shell beads and other aboriginal artifacts found at this site may reflect Indian contact.

The Eighteenth Century

Few sites associated with 18th-century intercultural relations between British settlers and Middle Atlantic Indians are known. The primary focus of colonial attention was drawn toward the western frontier as most Middle Atlantic Indian refusing to accept tributary status moved north, west, or south by 1750. Many sites known to date to these years are located on the peripheries of European settlement. Several, like Germanna and Fort Christanna, sites of frontier forts and mansions built by Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood, possess extensive archeological deposits.

Two more northerly sites, the Conrad Weiser and James Logan NHLs, preserve resources associated with the residences of important 18th-century frontier diplomats. Weiser, who spoke Delaware, Mohawk, German, and English, was an influential intermediary between Pennsylvanian authorities and Indian people along the Middle Atlantic frontier. James Logan, for his part, virtually ran the province as William Penn's secretary from 1699 to 1717. A primary instigator of the Walking Purchase, his home at Stenton, built in 1730, was the site of numerous meetings with Delaware, Iroquois, and other Indian diplomats.

Sources

A large body of documentary material records the European side of intercultural relations in the Middle Atlantic region. Useful summaries tracing various aspects of these encounters appear in Dahlgren and Norman (1988), Fausz (1988), Jacobs (1988), Jennings (1988b), A. Johnson (1911), Weslager (1967), and Weslager and Dunlap (1961).

Many studies have documented many aspects of 17th and 18th-century Middle Atlantic Anglo-American life. Essays by Mark P. Leone, Barbara J. Little, and Ann M. Palkovich published in "The Recovery of Meaning" (Leone and Potter 1988), exemplify the growing number of archeological studies reconstructing the lives of 18th-century Chesapeake settlers. Scholars also are increasingly using sociological and anthropological techniques to understand British society during the period. Anthropologist Rhys Isaac, for example, traces the transformation of Virginia society from a relatively simple planting society to a more complex social order between 1740 and 1790 (Isaac 1982). A case for the development of a syncretic culture combining European and African cultural traditions in colonial Virginia is made in Sobel (1988). Other aspects of colonial Chesapeake life are examined in essays published in Carr, Morgan, and Russo (1988). Historical geographies of New Jersey (Wacker 1975) and southeastern Pennsylvania (Lemon 1972) also provide significant information.

Extensive studies continue to be carried out at St. Mary's City NHL (Chaney and Miller 1989 and 1990; H. Miller 1983). Other studies have been conducted at Germanna (Sanford

& Parker 1986) and the Printzhof (Becker 1985). Investigators have long identified postmolds found near Lewes, Delaware as the Swanendael settlement stockade (Bonine 1952-64). Recent documentary research locating the post elsewhere indicates that these remains may be associated with another occupation.

Inventoried archeological properties associated with Indian-European relations in the Middle Atlantic region during historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Colonial NHP	Jamestown, VA	1500s-1600s	X		NPS 1987
Jordan's Journey	Prince George's Co, VA	1620-1635			Mouer 1992
St. Mary's City NHL	St. Mary's City, MD	1615-1695	X	excel	Chaney & Miller 1989, 1990; H. Miller 1983
Fort Christina NHL	Wilmington, DE	1638-1664	X		NPS 1987
Printzhof NHL	Essington, PA	1643-1655	X		Becker 1985; NPS 1987
Fort Casimir	New Castle, DE	1651-1654			Heite & Heite 1989
Fort Christanna	Brunswick Co, VA	1714-1732	X	good	Beaudry 1979; Hazzard & McCartney 1979; McCartney & Hazzard 1979; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Germanna	Orange, VA	1714-1734	X		Sanford & Parker 1986
Conrad Weiser NHL	Berks Co, PA	1729-1760	X		NPS 1987
James Logan Home NHL	Philadelphia, PA	1730-1751	X		NPS 1987

HISTORIC CONTEXT: HISTORIC CONTACT BETWEEN INDIANS AND COLONISTS IN THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN REGION, 1524-1783

OVERVIEW

The Trans-Appalachian region stretches across the Appalachian highlands and the St. Lawrence lowlands from the western border of Coastal Algonquian territory beyond Lake Champlain, the Blue Mountains, and the Virginian Fall Line to the headwaters of the upper Ohio River drainage. Bordered on the north by the Canadian Shield, this region extends across the St. Lawrence Valley and lower Great Lakes south to unglaciated portions of the Allegheny Plateau in northeastern West Virginia and western Virginia. In the United States, this region includes:

Western Maryland
Central and Western Pennsylvania
Northern, Central, and Western New York
Western Vermont
Central and Western Virginia
Northeastern West Virginia

At the time of contact, all people inhabiting the Trans-Appalachian region except Algonquian or Siouian-speaking people living in the southernmost reaches of the area spoke closely-related Iroquoian languages. No matter what language they spoke, all people inhabiting these lands followed Late Woodland ways of life based upon hunting, fishing, foraging, and corn, beans, and squash cultivation. Generally using locally available materials, they used stone, bone, shell, antler, and wood to craft tools, implements, and weapons. All produced triangular chipped stone projectile points used by Late Woodland people throughout the Northeast, and many made and used broadly similar types of stylistically distinct globular clay pots decorated with geometric motifs incised into their collars, rims, or shoulders

People living in this region generally belonged to groups living in one or more permanent towns and associated outlying hamlets. In the north, the larger of these settlements usually were communities of from 30 to 150 bark covered longhouses. More than a few of these towns were surrounded by palisade fortifications during the 1500s and 1600s. Farther south and west, people generally lived in settled communities of oblong, round, or rectangular houses. Many were protected by fortifications, and more than a few were planned townsites consisting of one or more rows of houses ranged around a central plaza.

Exhausting nearby soils, using up local supplies of firewood, cultivating fields invaded by noxious insects and other pests, and increasingly stifled by the accumulated clutter of long occupation, people living in these towns generally moved to other locales every ten to 20 years (Fenton 1978; Ritchie and Funk 1973; Starna, Hamell, and Butts 1984; Sykes 1980). Although most only moved a few miles during peacetime, Trans-Appalachian people were

known to relocate several miles from their own homes, wars and other extraordinary happenings sometimes inspired more considerable removals. Wherever they lived, these townsfolk struggled to balance individual interest with social needs to organize and maintain long-lasting alliances.

People belonging to the five (later six) nations comprising the best known of these coalitions, the Iroquois Confederacy, gradually came to dominate affairs in the region during the 18th-century following the dispersal and destruction of their Iroquoian-speaking Huron, Neutral, Erie, and Susquehannock rivals. Ritually unified through a framework based on consensual participation of all confederated nations, sachems appointed by senior clan women met at their council fire at Onondaga to discuss policy or ratify decisions. Usually fulfilling largely symbolic roles, particularly effective Confederacy leaders worked to maintain internal harmony and encourage unified action. The more successful of these leaders helped Iroquois nations exert degrees of economic and political influence far out of proportion of their relatively small numbers.

Most Iroquois nations struggled to assert authority over less powerful nations while they played colonial and Indian rivals off against one another. During what has been called the "Golden Age" of Iroquois diplomacy from 1701 to 1755, Iroquois leaders made particularly strong efforts to present a united front in order to stop colonial expansion into the heart of their territories. Mohawk people living nearest to British settlements, for example, only grudgingly sold land along their frontiers. Cayuga and Oneida people, for their part, took leading roles in relocating and supervising displaced Indian refugees along the southeastern-most frontiers of Iroquoia.. Farther west, Seneca people adopted individuals and entire communities of Indians from other places. Although these and other strategies worked for a time, the Iroquois heartland ultimately was laid open to American invasion after years of nearly constant warfare beginning in 1754 swept Indian frontier townsfolk farther north and west by the time the War for Independence began in 1775. Forced to sign a separate peace with the Americans at Fort Stanwix in 1784, Iroquois people finally were forced to convey title to most of their ancestral heartland by the first decades of the 19th-century.

The term Trans-Appalachia used in this study refers to the geographic area that was home to all Northern Iroquoian-speaking people and their culturally similar Algonquian and Siouian-speaking neighbors at the time of contact. The word Iroquoian identifies all Iroquoian-speaking people while the term Iroquois specifically refers to the five (later six) nations comprising the Iroquois Confederacy. The term Iroquoia is used to identify the Iroquois heartland.

The Sixteenth Century

As elsewhere in the Northeast, nearly everything known about 16th-century life in the Trans-Appalachian region comes from archeological sites or more recently collected Indian oral traditions. Much of this information occurs in the form of modern oral accounts presenting

contemporary views of the effects of initial contacts or as European trade goods and other materials found in archeological sites. The few known written records dating to the period document visits by Basque mariners and French traders such as Jacques Cartier to the northernmost reaches of the Trans-Appalachian region beyond the boundaries of the United States in Canada's maritime provinces and the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence Valley during the early 1500s.

Vocabularies gathered during Cartier's visit show that people living along the St. Lawrence spoke Iroquoian languages at the time of first contact. Subsequent studies have shown that all Iroquoian-speaking residents of the Trans-Appalachian region spoke Northern variants of the language (Lounsbury 1978). Iroquoian languages differed from Algonquian or Siouian tongues as much as Japanese differs from English and Bantu. Among themselves, Iroquoian languages could differ as much as English differs from German.

Although Northern Iroquoians spoke similar languages, people belonging to individual communities conformed to their own customs, sustained separate political identities, and regarded themselves as members of distinct ethnic and social groups. At the same time, they all shared generally similar ways of life. As defined by anthropologist William N. Fenton, these "Northern Iroquoian Cultural Patterns" included comparable subsistence, technological, settlement, social, political, and ideological practices and beliefs (Fenton 1978).

Archeologists analyzing data drawn from the hundreds of sites studied in the Trans-Appalachian region during the past century generally agree that these patterns first emerged in clearly discernable form between 900 and 1,200 years ago. Initial appearances of triangular chipped stone projectile points, distinctive domestically-produced clay pots and tobacco pipes, and carbonized corn found in pits, hearths, middens, or roasting platforms unearthed among postmolds of longhouses, stockade fortifications, and other remains of towns and camps signal this transformation. Later developments, such as squash cultivation and incised collared pottery production, first appear in sites dating from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1400.

The causes of these transformations remain the subject of lively debate. Earlier in this century, most scholars believed that such changes signalled arrivals of new immigrants from other parts of the continent (Parker 1916). Investigators in the area seeing continuity rather than change in the available evidence later suggested that these transformations represented **in situ** developments (MacNeish 1952; Ritchie and MacNeish 1949). Although in situ hypotheses continue to enjoy wide support, increasing numbers of scholars are challenging their validity. Using core-periphery and predatory-expansion models, archeologists Dena Dincauze and Robert Hasenstab believe that settlement shifts and evidence of increasing social, political, and economic complexity may reflect impacts of contact between town-dwelling Ohio River Valley Mississippian or Fort Ancient food-producers and more easterly ancestors of historic Iroquoian people during periods of environmental stress (Dincauze and Hasenstab 1987; Hasenstab 1987 and 1990).

Examining the same situation, Dean Snow suggests that the appearance of Late Woodland Owasco culture in northeastern portions of the region formerly occupied by people following a Middle Woodland Point Peninsula way of life represents incursions of food-producing Iroquoian-speaking town-dwellers into Trans-Appalachian valleys inhabited by hunting and gathering people. Unlike Dincauze and Hasenstab, Snow has found paleoecological evidence suggesting that these incursions occurred under environmental conditions favorable to expanding food producers. Citing recent linguistic studies indicating that Northern Iroquoian languages diverged from the Southern Iroquoian Cherokee language about 1,000 years ago and finding no evidence of Iroquoian cultural precursors elsewhere, Snow proposes that initial appearances of Owasco-like ceramics, pipes, and triangular chipped stone projectile points in sites associated with the poorly dated Clemson's Island tradition that flourished along the lower Susquehanna Valley may represent a link in a migratory chain stretching north from somewhere in the southeast to the St. Lawrence Lowlands (Snow 1991b).

Whatever their origins, initial appearances of unprecedentedly larger and more nucleated townsites containing distinctive ceramic assemblages dominated by varieties of often-cordmarked roughened globular-bodied pots decorated with incised geometric motifs on their necks, collars, and rims generally mark the shift from Middle Woodland hunting and gathering traditions to more settled ways of life in the region. Archeologists believe that people living in more northerly reaches of the region along the St. Lawrence Lowlands and the lower Great Lakes began crafting distinctive forms of Late Ontario Iroquois tradition - pottery based on earlier Owasco and Pickering tradition models sometime during the late 15th-century. No objects of European origin have been found in sites containing St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery stretching from Jefferson County, New York and the upper St. Lawrence Valley eastward across upper New England from Lake Champlain to Maine. Specialists are divided on the meaning of these discoveries. Most formerly thought that the appearance of pottery at particular sites represented the presence of their makers at these locales. More recently, increasing numbers of scholars are considering the possibility that such distributions may represent evidence of exchange networks or interaction spheres (Engelbrecht 1971; Petersen 1989; Pendergast 1991b; Wright 1966).

Most archeologists believe that the immediate ancestors of historic Huron, Petun, Neutral, Wenro, and Erie people living farther west in Ontario, western New York, and northwestern Pennsylvania began making their own forms of Late Ontario Iroquois tradition pottery based on preceding Pickering and Glen Meyer wares around A.D. 1400. Available evidence suggests that the cultural traditions of these people soon diverged. Direct ancestors of historic Huron and Petun potters living between Lakes Huron and Ontario, for their part, quickly showed a preference for heavily decorated vessels often surmounted by carinated necks and shoulders. Available evidence also shows that people making or using such pots frequently notched the sides of triangular chipped stone projectile points.

Late Ontario Iroquois tradition people living farther west beyond the Genesee Valley in places later chronicled as Neutral and Erie territory made straight-sided triangular chipped stone projectile points and crafted more simply decorated wares. Seriational analyses of their pottery indicate that many of these people began making stylistically distinct variants of Oakfield wares based on earlier pottery sometime during the 1500s. Indications of contact with people living farther east in Genesee country occur in the form of the small number of Richmond Incised and other wares believed to have been made by the common ancestors of historic Seneca, Cayuga, and Susquehannock people found in Oakfield phase sites.

People living in central New York on historically chronicled Seneca and Cayuga lands began making assemblages dominated by Richmond Incised wares based on earlier Owasco models at about the same time people living farther north and west began crafting Late Ontario Iroquois tradition pottery. Farther east, people living in the historic homelands of the Onondagas and Oneidas produced pottery assemblages dominated by Chance phase ceramics resembling distinctive Garoga series wares produced by Mohawks and other people living along the upper reaches of the Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna River valleys.

Potters living just south of this region began to produce their own more elaborately decorated variants of Richmond Incised pots during the early 1500s. Discoveries of these wares in remains of large townsites located along the upper Susquehanna River around Binghamton, New York represent the first identifiable evidence of people later chronicled as Susquehannocks. Archeological evidence indicates that people making or using these wares began to move south towards Chesapeake Bay sometime between 1550 and 1575. Learning to use shell tempering and other new techniques commonly employed by people living farther south and west, Susquehannock potters developed new and distinctive incised wares of their own known to archeologists as Schultz, Washington Boro, and Strickler pottery.

Susquehannocks supplanted, drove away, or assimilated Shenks Ferry people who had been living in comparatively smaller fortified towns along the lower Susquehanna River since 1300. Shenks Ferry people made collared pots bearing incised motifs. Discoveries of small amounts of Shenks Ferry pots and shell-tempered Schultz Incised wares decorated with Shenks Ferry motifs in late 16th and early 17th-century Susquehannock sites suggests that Shenks Ferry people or pots continued to influence Susquehannock potters long after their nation ceased to exist.

Farther west, people known to archeologists as members of the Monongahela culture lived in oblong bark-covered longhouses located in fortified towns situated upon defensible hilltops along the Allegheny River, the lower Monongahela Valley, and the upper reaches of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. Much of the pottery produced by these people closely resembled wares produced by McFate-Quiggle people living to the north and east along the West Branch of the Susquehanna River.

To the south, settlements of people living in Appalachian highland towns in Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia produced distinctive assemblages of Intermontane tradition wares. Residing in places later chronicled as the homes of historic Monacan, Meherrin, Nottoway, Saponi, and other Iroquoian or Siouian speaking people, Intermontane tradition potters produced distinctive Dan River and other shell and grit tempered wares. They made their homes in dispersed and nucleated settlements. Several more densely occupied communities were fortified towns comprising groups of small oblong or round houses arranged around a central plaza.

The way of life followed by most people living in the Trans-Appalachian region during protohistoric times generally resembled lifeways of other contemporary Northeastern Indian people. All of the region's inhabitants gathered locally available materials, collected wild foods, fished, hunted, or tended crops for their livings. Deer and bear were major sources of meat and fur. Estimating that seven deerskins were needed to produce one set of women's clothing (five were needed for men), archeologist Richard Gramly has suggested that occupants of larger communities in Trans-Appalachia had to take thousands of animals annually to cloth and feed themselves and their families, friends, and neighbors (Gramly 1977, but see Starna and Relethford 1985 for a cautionary note discussing problems associated with animal resource utilization estimates). Beaver, elk, birds, and other animals also were taken. Eels, pike, and other fish were netted, trapped, speared, or landed with barbless hooks.

Specific subsistence patterns varied regionally. Conrad Heidenreich, for example, suggests that Hurons living close to swamps and large bodies of fresh water such as Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron generally concentrated on fishing and corn farming. Using these products as trade commodities, Huron people obtained meat and skins from more northerly hunting people (Heidenreich 1971). More southerly people living farther from northern boreal hunting country in less well watered lands, by contrast, often fished less and hunted more.

All people in the region hunted, trapped, or traded for beaver and other fur-bearing animals. This fur trade assumed new importance as Indian people found that the first Europeans visiting the eastern margins of the region during the 16th-century offered desirable new imports like glass beads, sheet copper, and wool or cloth textiles for food, furs, and favors.

Used by people throughout the more northerly parts of the region, the longhouse became perhaps the most eloquent metaphor of life in the Trans-Appalachian region. Bark-covered frame structures generally ranging from 60 to 100 feet long with doors on both ends were built in every Iroquoian settlement. Some longhouses built in Mohawk territory during late prehistoric times approached 200 feet in length. Whatever their location or dimensions, scholars using ethnographic analogies or direct historical upstreaming documentary approaches believe that longhouses sheltered groups of matrilineally related families living in small apartments flanking fireplaces located along the central corridor running through each structure. Changes in household population and composition were accommodated by

adding or removing apartments at one end of the structure or the other. So compelling was this image of family, home, and community that even today members of the Iroquois Confederacy call themselves "People of the Longhouse."

Postmold patterns excavated by archeologists indicate that nearly all ancestors of historic Iroquoian-speaking people were living in longhouses by A.D. 1100. By A.D. 1300, many of these structures were located within fortified towns atop defensible hills somewhat removed from rivers, lakes, and other potential avenues of assault. The largest of these towns could contain up to 150 longhouses sheltering as many as 3,000 people.

Life within the confines of such towns could present considerable challenges. Residents of even the smallest hamlets ultimately drove away nearby game animals and exhausted easily accessible supplies of timber, berries, other plants, and arable soil. Insects, rodents, and other pests gradually infested fields and homes. No matter how hard householders tried to keep things up, continuously occupied bark covered homes lived in by large numbers of people for long periods of time ultimately became harder to keep clean, more difficult to repair, and increasingly flammable. In keeping with historically-chronicled Iroquoian ethos of intra-community cooperation and tolerance, people disagreeing with community decisions were free to move elsewhere. Archeological evidence tends to corroborate archival and ethnographic data indicating that Iroquoian people generally responded to these and other problems by moving townsites to new locales every ten to 20 years.

Individual and community movement probably played a major role in the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy. Most modern Iroquois traditionalists regard their League as ancient. Scholars contrasting these traditions with archeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical data generally believe that Iroquois people formed their Confederacy sometime during the 15th or 16th-centuries. Some of the most compelling physical evidence of the Confederacy's formation appears in the form of late prehistoric and protohistoric settlement patterns and practices. Archeologists have found numbers of unprecedentedly large compact communities containing large numbers of longhouses were built on fertile soils upon bluffs or hilltops along the escarpment running from the Mohawk Valley west to Lake Huron. Evidence of increasingly intensifying food production, appearances of town cemeteries, and objects indicating technological and aesthetic developments found in these towns further suggest contemporaneous population growth and rising socio-political complexity. Other evidence found in these communities suggest increasing trade and intermarriage between people living within the historically chronicled Iroquois heartland during this times.

Many of these towns are fortified and most are located in defensible locales. Finds of severed human heads or charred fragments of knife-cut human bone in pits or large stone-filled fireplaces reminiscent of others associated with historically chronicled torture platforms at the Genesee Valley Alhart site, the Bloody Hill site in the heart of the historic Onondaga homeland, and other locales. These findings corroborate oral traditions attesting to the

rising tide of violence said to have impelled Iroquois leaders to found their Great League of Peace.

Ceramic analyses provide further clues to League origins. Contrasting similarities and differences in ceramics found in sites associated with the Iroquois and their neighbors, archeologist William Engelbrecht has tried to correlate increasing rates of ceramic similarity with developments of closer community ties. Engelbrecht has found evidence suggesting that potters producing similar wares in the historically chronicled Onondaga and Oneida countries may have began to make pots resembling those made in Mohawk country sometime during the 14th-century (Engelbrecht 1971, 1974). People living in Genesee country, by contrast, may have only started making pots similar to others produced by more easterly neighbors during the 16th-century. Affirmation of these tentative findings may corroborate oral traditions stating that Seneca and Cayuga people were the last of the original five nations to enter the Iroquois Confederacy.

The first documented contacts between people from the region and Europeans may have occurred when Saint Lawrence Iroquoians met Norman fishermen at the Strait of Belle Isle in 1520. More direct contact began July 16, 1534 when a party of Saint Lawrence Iroquoians, led by Donnacona, the chief of Stadacona (modern Quebec City), met Breton fisherman and French explorer Jacques Cartier while both were visiting the Gaspe Peninsula near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. This contact was marked by friendly conversation, some exchanges of gifts, and a little thievery. Quickly returning to France, Cartier brought two of Donnacona's sons back with him to see the country and learn French. Guided by these men when he returned the following year, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence to Stadacona and on to the fortified town of Hochelaga where, to his acute disappointment, he saw the head of navigation at modern Montreal.

Living among his Saint Lawrence Iroquoian hosts during the winter of 1535-1536, Cartier again returned to France after kidnapping Donnacona and nine of his people. He subsequently returned to the area in 1542-1543 without his hostages, who had died in France. Followed by La Roche de Roberval the following year, Cartier and other French colonists were soon forced to leave. Angered by the French predilection for seizing people against their will and outraged by the deaths of their kidnapped kinsfolk while in French hands, the Indians restricted direct trade with French sailors to brief shipboard encounters along the lower St. Lawrence below Tadoussac until the later 1500s.

As noted in preceding sections, few European goods seem to have made their way into the Trans-Appalachian region along the St. Lawrence. Instead, most metal objects, glass beads, and other materials of European origin found in protohistoric Susquehannock, Iroquois, and Late Ontario Iroquois tradition sites appear to have been brought into the region from more southerly points of contact in and around Chesapeake Bay. Other goods may have come from vessels visiting New England shores. Some scholars believe that these indirect contacts precipitated cataclysmic changes in Trans-Appalachian society during protohistoric times.

Henry F. Dobyns, for example, suggests that the first appearances of cemeteries in many Genesee and Susquehanna Valleys sites represent evidence of unprecedentedly high population losses caused by epidemic diseases introduced by 16th-century European visitors (Dobyns 1983).

Other scholars challenge Dobyns's findings. Dean R. Snow and Kim Lanphear, for example, see stability rather than change in protohistoric period Mohawk mortuary and settlement patterns (Snow and Lanphear 1988). Describing what they believe to be the first clear osteological evidence of pre-Columbian Treponematosis indicative of syphilis in the Northeast, James J. Elting and William A. Starna suggest that epidemic contagion was not unknown before European contact (Elting and Starna 1984). Noting the tell-tale signs of nutritional deficiency, osteologist Lorraine P. Saunders, believes famine rather than disease caused the unusually high number of multiple burials found at the protohistoric Seneca Adams and Culbertson sites (Wray, et al. 1987). Other scholars, noting that famine often accompanies contagion, continue to debate the subject. Full resolution of this dispute, like so many others, awaits new discoveries and developments.

Although little of a definitive nature currently can be said about epidemiology in the Trans-Appalachian region during protohistoric times, surviving site deposits do provide a great deal of information on settlement patterns and material culture in the region during these years. Aboriginally produced artifacts overwhelmingly predominate assemblages found in sites dating to the 16th-century throughout the region. European artifacts, by contrast, are almost wholly limited to small numbers of glass beads, copper and brass hoops, spirals, or tubular beads, iron knives and axes, and a smattering of brass kettles. Archeologists presently regard discovery of 16th-century glass beads in sites containing little or no other evidence of European contact as the most reliable indicator of occupation in the region during protohistoric times.

Patterns emerging from these findings indicate that Indian life in the region began to change dramatically as the 16th-century drew to a close. European materials appear with new types of ceramics and trade goods at a time when most people in the region begin to move into larger and more densely settled fortified townsites. Although we cannot presently identify causes and effects, most archeologists believe that these developments represent changes in trade, warfare, and socio-political organization. Economic needs, for example, may have spurred Susquehannocks to move south toward Chesapeake Bay. Other deposits may reflect intensifying patterns of trade and warfare thought to have led Iroquois people to form their Confederacy sometime before Europeans first encountered Mohawk warriors along the banks of Lake Champlain in 1609.

The Seventeenth Century

Available records indicate that most Northern Iroquoian cultural patterns chronicled during the preceding century continued into the 1600s. Roots, greens, fruits, and berries continued

to be gathered in season. Strawberries, the first fruits to ripen, were gratefully welcomed after long winters. During historic times, many Northern Iroquoian people collected maple sap for sugar and syrup during the late winter and early spring months preceding the strawberry harvest. Although investigators still disagree on its aboriginality, available evidence suggests that Northeastern Indian people may have made small amounts of maple sugar in clay pots before European copper, brass, and iron kettles made it easier to more efficiently produce larger quantities for trade or domestic consumption (C. Mason 1986; Pendergast 1982).

Like most other Northeastern Indians, people living in the Trans-Appalachian region continued to cultivate corn, beans, squash, tobacco, and other plants. Archeological evidence, European written records, and more recent native oral accounts affirm that the people of Trans-Appalachia generally employed more intensive cultivation techniques than those used by Coastal Algonquian neighbors. Cleared fields surrounded most major towns. Iron hoes supplemented but never entirely replaced digging sticks, wooden hoes, or deer and elk scapulae. Cultural geographer Conrad Heidenreich estimates that the Huron nation, numbering 21,000 in 1630, annually harvested 189,000 bushels of corn from 7,000 acres of cleared ground during good years (Heidenreich 1971). Similarly high yields were reported by American troops burning Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca fields in 1779. Indian people throughout the region also adopted apples, peaches, pears, and other fruits brought by colonists as the 17th-century wore on.

These technological developments generally paralleled those experienced by other Indians living farther east. People in both regions made tools, weapons, and ornaments from stone, bone, shell, antler, copper, wood, sinew, and plant fiber during late prehistoric and early historic times. Chipped stone implements and debitage associated with their manufacture are found in most sites dating to this period. Triangular Madison and Levanna-style stone arrowpoints also are commonly found. These and other stone tools become increasingly rare in later sites as people in the region, like their Coastal Algonquian neighbors, gradually replaced most aboriginal manufactures with material of European origin by 1700.

Although most people in the region virtually stopped making traditional pottery by the mid 1600s, some Northern Iroquoians continued to make variants of a plain undecorated ware into the first decades of the 1700s. Although data are limited, several scholars believe that potters living in more southerly reaches of the region produced Colono wares similar to those produced by coastal Indian or African-American people. Ash and maple splint baskets largely patterned after new European prototypes supplanted traditional woven and knotted containers. Although artisans using stone tools may have crafted small numbers of splint baskets prior to European contact, imported steel drawing knives and other metal tools allowed native people to produce such baskets in great numbers.

New diseases devastated people living in the Trans-Appalachian region much as they ravaged Coastal Algonquians. Europeans repeatedly recorded accounts of epidemic

contagion among the region's inhabitants. Fully half of all Huron people, for example, reportedly were killed by a single smallpox epidemic in 1639. Epidemics evidently struck all Indian communities with implacable impartiality. Repeatedly devastated by epidemic contagion and increasingly ravaged by warfare, native people tried to replenish dwindling numbers by marrying or capturing foreigners. Although records are fragmentary, more politically cohesive Iroquois groups seem to have been able to marry, capture, and assimilate larger numbers of foreigners than other communities.

Focusing upon records showing that Iroquois families gave names of deceased relatives to ritually adopted captives and others attesting to the fact that some adoptees fought against former friends and relatives, scholars traditionally have assumed that unsacrificed adopted captives became enfranchised members of their new societies. Reexamining this documentation in light of new theoretical developments, William A. Starna and Ralph Watkins have shown that the available documentation can be interpreted as evidence indicating that most adopted captives were enslaved (Starna and Watkins 1991).

Iroquois people occasionally adopted entire populations of vanquished communities as they gradually forced neighboring nations from their lands. Many of these territories subsequently became depopulated frontier zones or hunting and trapping preserves. Territories within a hundred mile radius of the western and southern borders of the Iroquois heartland ultimately became buffer zones between Iroquois Confederacy nations and other Indian people. Miamis, Ottawas, and other more westerly Indian people hunting and trapping on such lands during peacetime often were forced to travel around them in order to reach European traders whenever war broke out.

Iroquois military success depended upon their ability to obtain better and more plentiful supplies of European firearms and munitions than those secured by Indian adversaries. Dutch and English merchants began to trade muskets to Iroquois customers during the early 1630s. Iroquois raiders obtained other guns while attacking Huron, French, and other enemies. French policies limiting firearms to Christian converts frequently placed their Huron and other Indian allies at severe disadvantages in encounters with Iroquois warriors.

The nearly complete absence of gunflints, gun parts, and lead musket balls in early 17th-century sites located beyond the borders of the Iroquois heartland attests to the military problems faced by less well-armed groups. Only the Susquehannocks and their Erie allies appear to have achieved a degree of technological parity with their Iroquois adversaries. French chroniclers ascribed the Erie defeat in 1654 to a shortage of ammunition rather than deficiency of weapons. Better supplied by English, Swedish, and Dutch traders, Susquehannocks reportedly mounted small cannon on bastions along their town walls. Even with such weapons, the Susquehannocks were not able to overcome their adversaries. Forced into nearly continual wars with the Senecas, their Iroquois Confederates, and other Indian nations, the Susquehannocks ultimately were worn down and dispersed by 1680.

The pace of these and other developments gradually increased as impacts of more intensive contact transformed life throughout the region. Cultural traditions in many areas of the region disappeared or were transformed beyond recognition. Others, like those chronicled within the historic Iroquois heartland, underwent unprecedented growth and elaboration. Although each community was forced to confront change during these years, many Iroquois people came to enjoy a higher standard of living than any known by their ancestors. Trade goods flooded into their towns. Starvation still occasionally stalked Iroquois communities during wartime, drought years, or when winter stores ran out during the early spring. Produce from fields and orchards usually met their needs. Often charging high prices, Dutch and English settlers nevertheless frequently provided provisions when supplies failed.

The archeological record mutely corroborates written accounts documenting this phase of history in the region. Cultures located along the borderlands of the Iroquois heartland that had developed **in situ** over the course of the preceding 200 years suddenly disappeared by mid-century. Communities within the heart of Iroquoia, by contrast, grew in size, content, and complexity during the same period.

John Smith's 1608 references to Susquehannocks and their hinterland Massawomeck enemies represent the first known direct written references unequivocally identifying Trans-Appalachian Indian nations by name within the present borders of the United States. Living beyond piedmont foothills separating them from European coastal beachheads, Susquehannocks, Massawomecks, and other people in the region were at first mentioned only briefly in colonial dispatches. This situation changed as the Iroquois and their neighbors ultimately came to dominate colonial Indian affairs by the end of the century.

Iroquois people made their homes in towns located in central New York along the upper reaches of the Allegheny, Genesee, Oswego, Susquehanna, and Mohawk Rivers when European observers first chronicled their existence in print during the early 1600s. As mentioned earlier, Iroquois people likening their Confederacy to a longhouse regarded Mohawk townsfolk as keepers of the symbolic building's eastern door. Onondaga people, traditionally regarded as having played a pivotal role in the Confederacy's formation, tended the League's central fire in the hill country below Syracuse in central New York. Their Oneida "Younger Brothers" lived south and east of Oneida Lake between Onondaga and the westernmost Mohawk towns. Farther west, people living in Seneca towns and those of their nearby "Younger" Cayuga brethren kept watch over the Confederacy's western door.

Historic records corroborate archeological discoveries indicating that each Iroquois nation possessed from one to four major towns. Smaller outlying settlements often were built near major towns. Mohawks and Cayugas each usually had from three to four major towns during the 17th-century. Senecas generally had two large and two small towns. Onondagas usually had one large town and a smaller community, while Oneidas tended to live in a single large community. Special circumstances, like the rebuilding episode necessitated by the French destruction of all Mohawk towns in 1666, sometimes compelled Iroquois people

to construct several new communities at the same time. Movements from old towns to new communities could be accomplished swiftly or drawn out over a span of time. Such variations in relocation rates may explain why European observers such as Van den Bogaert in 1634 and Wentworth Greenhalgh in 1677 reported more than the above mentioned numbers of towns in Iroquois country during their visits.

Despite their drawbacks, palisaded towns built throughout the region evidently provided a considerable measure of protection to occupants in the years preceding European invasion. Most later became smoky deathtraps when attacked by assailants more intent upon annihilating enemies than in capturing prisoners. Unwilling to remain in such places longer than they had to, most Iroquois people moved to more widely dispersed unfortified settlements after their leaders secured a general peace with the French and their Indian allies in 1701.

No matter how they lived, people belonging to Iroquois nations continually worked to take full advantage of their strategic positions astride vital communication routes linking western trapping lands to growing rival markets in New France, New England, and the Middle Colonies. Although available written documents indicate that the total Iroquois population probably rarely exceeded 20,000 individuals at any one time, Iroquois Confederacy nations struggled to dominate this commerce. Mohawk people dominating the vital Hudson Valley and New England markets ultimately achieved considerable influence and more than a small measure of affluence by the end of the century. The power and prosperity enjoyed by Mohawk and other Iroquois communities rested in large part upon maintenance of advantageous trade ties, a willingness to wage war when necessary, and the often effective organizational and diplomatic skills of their sachems.

The five Iroquois nations continually struggled to cooperate with one another as they worked to play foreign and domestic rivals off against one another. The success of their efforts increasingly turned on vital alliances with European neighbors to the east as the century wore on. Realizing this fact, Iroquois diplomats and traders established close ties with nearby Dutch, French, and English colonists. Farther west, the Hurons, Susquehannocks, and their neighbors aligned themselves with the French.

Sources like the spurious 1613 Tawagonshi Treaty document are purported to directly record establishment of formal ties between Mohawk people and Dutch traders shortly after the erection of Fort Nassau in 1614 in the heart of Mahican country beyond the eastern fringes of Iroquoia (Gehring, Starna, and Fenton 1987). Other sources show that early relations between both peoples were ambivalent. Mohawk warriors, for example, destroyed a Dutch party on its way to attack their towns on behalf of the Mahicans a few years after the garrison moved to Fort Orange in 1624. Resolving their differences shortly thereafter, both peoples subsequently maintained peaceful relations with one another throughout the remaining years of the Dutch regime.

Declining to support the Dutch when English troops conquered New Netherland in 1664, Mohawk leaders soon concluded an alliance with their new neighbors at the rechristened town of Albany near the former Dutch fort. This alliance, formalized sometime between the 1670s and 1680s as the "Covenant Chain" (after a metaphor commonly used to describe the alliance in councils), provided many benefits to the People of the Longhouse. Traders operating out of the Covenant Chain's English fire at Albany usually offered better, cheaper, and more plentiful goods than their French competitors. Firearms, ammunition, and repair facilities furnished first by Albany traders, often in contravention of provincial laws prohibiting munitions trade with Indians, gave Iroquois warriors important advantages over less well-armed or supplied adversaries.

This advantage became critical as Iroquois diplomats, warriors, hunters, and traders struggled to secure enough furs to trade for European goods. Iroquois raiders searching for pelts and plunder periodically attacked rivals wherever they could be found. The most formidable of their rivals, the Hurons, forged increasingly close ties with the French during the 1630s. Relations between both peoples grew even closer as Jesuits built missions in most Huron towns by 1640. Working together, they struggled to monopolize the northern fur trade.

Relations between most Iroquois nations and the French, by contrast, were marked by ambivalence and intermittent hostility. Initially unable to come to terms, the French waged war against the easternmost Iroquois nations between 1609 and 1615. An uneasy peace, often broken and frequently renewed, subsequently was maintained throughout the remaining years of the century.

Unable to drive away the French, the Iroquois focused attention on their Indian allies. They obtained a decisive advantage over their rivals when Dutch and New England traders began selling increasing numbers of flintlocks to them during the late 1630s. French authorities, refusing to fully trust their own Indian allies, provided only small numbers of relatively inefficient matchlocks to Christian converts. These would not be enough to stop determined Iroquois raiders.

Well armed and organized, Seneca warriors aided by their Iroquois confederates soon moved to destroy Huron and other Indian allies of the French. Striking deep into territories beyond the boundaries of their heartland, they systematically defeated and dispersed the Hurons and their Wenro, Neutral, Petun, and Erie neighbors. Some scholars believe that economic considerations impelled Iroquois warriors to implacably destroy their enemies in these and other struggles since termed "Beaver Wars" fought between 1649 and 1657. Others think that Iroquois nations went to war for political, emotional, or other reasons. Whatever their cause, their outcomes are well known. Most survivors of Iroquois attacks abandoned their homelands. Some fled to the west. Others moved near French and Indian towns along the St. Lawrence River, where their descendants remain today. More than a few of these people were adopted into Iroquois families. Settling in Iroquois towns, their former homelands became Iroquois hunting and trapping territories.

Iroquois warriors fought on many fronts during these years. Mohawk warriors and their allies, for example, repeatedly tried to drive Western Abenakis, Mahicans, and other contending North Atlantic Algonquians eastward away from the major European entrepot established in modern day Albany New York. An important source of trade goods in its own right, the town also stood astride the strategic Hudson River-Lake Champlain-Richelieu River trade route. This route, dubbed the "Mahican Channel" by Francis Jennings, connected New York with Montreal (Jennings 1988b). It also commanded access to English traders willing to trade firearms, liquor, and wampum for pelts.

Iroquois warriors also fought Susquehannock rivals for control of the more southerly trade routes to the interior. Initially allied to the Hurons and other Ontario Indian people, Susquehannocks dominated access to English markets in and around Chesapeake Bay and Swedish posts along the lower Delaware River. As mentioned earlier, Susquehannocks, unlike other Iroquois competitors, were well-armed with muskets supplied by Swedish traders interested in pelts and Maryland authorities willing to exchange guns for land.

Colonial records indicate that Senecas and Cayugas bore the brunt of the struggle with the Susquehannocks. Raiding each other's towns at intervals for more than 40 years, many people on both sides were killed or taken prisoner. In 1652, for example, Iroquois warriors raiding Susquehannock country carried between 500 and 600 captives back to their towns for adoption, execution, or exchange. Ten years later, some Cayugas anxious to avoid further Susquehannock assaults fled to the northern shores of Lake Ontario. The war finally ended when Iroquois warriors defeated and dispersed the Susquehannocks sometime after Maryland and Virginian settlers drove the Susquehannocks from their newly-occupied fortified town on the Potomac during Bacon's Rebellion in 1675.

Victorious Iroquois diplomats soon claimed Susquehannock lands and asserted sovereignty over their former Delaware allies. Turning westward in their quest to outflank New France, control vital trade routes, and gain direct access to supply sources, Iroquois warriors launched forays into the Illinois and Ohio Valleys during the 1680s. Other Iroquois men travelled south along the "Warriors Path" to press their seemingly interminable war with the Cherokees, Catawbas, and other southern Indian nations. Although direct evidence is lacking, Iroquois warriors travelling this path probably began to force many Monacans and other western Virginian Indian people to begin moving their homes farther from such lines of march.

Although Iroquois warriors enjoyed a formidable reputation, they were not always successful in battle. Repeated attacks by Mohawk warriors, for example, failed to permanently dislodge Mahicans or their Western Abenaki allies. Farther west, Potawatomi and Illinois warriors turned back Seneca and Cayuga war parties, trappers, and traders. In Ontario, Mississaugas ejected Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga colonists trying to establish settlements of their own on lands appropriated from vanquished Huron, Neutral, and Petun people during the 1660s. Periodic outbreaks of fighting with the French also devastated Iroquois

communities. Every Mohawk town, for example, was destroyed when a French column marching south from the St. Lawrence Valley invaded their country in 1666.

War, disease, and politics compelled many people living in the region to make new friends and move to new homes during the middle years of the century. Jesuits managed to establish briefly-occupied missions within the Iroquois heartland at places like Ste. Marie Gannentaha at Onondaga. Many people drawn to these missionaries moved to new towns along the St. Lawrence or joined Hurons and other Catholic Indian proselytes already living there when Iroquois chiefs opposing French influence drove the Jesuits from their towns as outbreaks of hostility between the Five Nations and France grew into war during the late 1650s.

French priests renewed their efforts to establish missions in Iroquoia soon after French officials signed a peace treaty with the French in 1667 resulted in the erection of missions in every Iroquois nation. Needing peace on their northern borders while they turned their energies towards defeating the Susquehannocks, Iroquois leaders quickly came to regard the French as undesirable competitors standing in the way of their hard-won access to markets and sources of supply farther west in the Ohio Valley and the Upper Lakes. Sharing English concern over growing French influence among their people and alarmed by increasing Jesuit success in attracting converts and trade, many Iroquois leaders called for removal of all French missionaries and Indian proselytes from most of their towns at the same time New York governor Thomas Dongan demanded their ejection in 1683. Shortly afterwards, war broke out between the French and the westernmost Iroquois nations. The Senecas were forced to burn their towns as they retreated in front of a French column marching through their settlements in 1687. More widespread fighting resumed shortly thereafter as France went to war with England at the beginning of King William's War in 1689.

Iroquois warriors fighting alongside English troops besieged Montreal and communities of French Indian allies everywhere in Mahican and Western Abenaki country. Those not taken captive or killed were forced to take refuge among relatives in New France. Although the war officially ended in 1697, most refugees did not return to their homes until the Iroquois signed a separate peace with the French in 1701.

Nearly every Iroquois nation suffered heavy losses in the fighting. Many men were killed fighting in Canada and elsewhere. A French army burned the rebuilt Mohawk towns in 1693. Three years later, another destroyed all Onondaga and Oneida settlements.

Although many warriors were killed in open combat far from home, few Iroquois people died during attacks on their towns. Learning from hard experience, they chose to evacuate and burn their towns rather than defend them. The French and their Indian allies also learned from experience. Unable to kill or capture large numbers of Iroquois people and not powerful enough to establish permanent garrisons in their country, French troops destroyed Iroquois towns and laid waste to their fields, orchards, and storage pits. Indian

people in Mahican and Western Abenaki country living in places exposed to attack, for their part, continued to temporarily abandon their settlements during times of war and reoccupy them when it was considered safe to return.

Dutch and English authorities fed Iroquois refugees and replaced lost supplies. New communities soon were built. These rebuilding episodes, often replacing relatively new townsites, present modern archeologists working in the region with a situation markedly different than that faced by colleagues working farther east. Scholars studying 17th-century Coastal Algonquian life have found only a few of the hundreds of towns documented by colonial observers. Archeologists working in the region, by contrast, have found many times the number of sites chronicled by Europeans.

Unlike the scattered settlements built by Indian people living farther east, most towns built by Indian people living in the Trans-Appalachian region during the 1600s were highly concentrated fortified settlements easily discovered by excavators. Nearly all were built on high hilltops or other locales amid fertile soils highly unsuitable for food production. Exposed by plowing but otherwise generally undamaged by development until recently, archeologists have discovered large numbers of these sites. Collectively, these properties represent the most extensive assemblage of temporally, spatially, and culturally distinct archeological resources in the region.

Towns destroyed during French invasions only account for a percentage of the relatively large number of these townsites. Earlier mentioned town relocation practices account for some proliferation. Epidemic diseases also probably compelled many people to abandon townsites. As elsewhere in the region, smallpox, measles, and malaria (frequently identified in colonial records as tertian ague or intermittent fever), killed thousands. Epidemics during the 1630s, for example, reportedly halved the Huron population. A series of seven documented epidemic episodes devastated Iroquois towns from 1634 to 1691. The last of these, a particularly virulent smallpox epidemic, was accidently spread by warriors returning from an abortive expedition against Canada in 1690-1691. Another source suggests that as many as half of all Indian people living in the Iroquois heartland when King William's War started had died or moved away by the time the war ended in 1697.

As earlier, Indian people throughout the region tried to replace losses by adopting captives and urging foreign Indian people displaced by the war to live among them. And, as many Huron, Petun, and other Iroquoian-speaking people devastated by war, disease, and dissension had already done, increasing numbers of Iroquois people left their towns for new homes. Many began to move farther south to towns like Tioga and Oquaga among displaced Mahicans, Munsees, and Delawares relocating along upper branches of the Susquehanna River vacated by since-dispersed Susquehannocks. Farther south, Monacan and Saponi people forced from their homes began to move north onto former Susquehannock lands along the lower reaches of the Susquehanna River or south among Tuscarora, Catawba, or Cherokee neighbors.

The Eighteenth Century

Struggling to maintain internal cohesion as they worked to preserve their Covenant Chain alliance with the English, Iroquois Confederacy diplomats labored to secure a firm peace with the French as the new century dawned. Surviving repeated episodes of epidemic contagion, seemingly interminable wars, and contending imperial powers struggling to gain control over their lands and lives, the Iroquois finally concluded a lasting treaty of neutrality with French authorities in Montreal in 1701. In so doing, they emerged as the dominant Indian military and economic power in the Northeast. After nearly a century of war, nearly all people remaining in the region were living in or near the traditional heartland of the Five Nations. Restricting trade to posts situated along their frontiers, fewer than ten or twenty thousand Iroquois people asserted the right to control regional trade and influence political affairs of perhaps twice as many Delawares, Shawnees, Conoys, Tuteloes, and other Indian people resettled at their insistence on former Susquehannock lands.

Together, these people faced more than a quarter of a million colonists along a border stretching from Lake Champlain south along the western foothills of the Appalachian Mountains to the Maryland border. Settlers had acquired most Indian lands to the east of that line by 1700. Some had pressed as far west as Schenectady. Farther south, Maryland and Pennsylvanian settlers were moving onto former Susquehannock lands. Despite these penetrations, no colonist could claim clear title to a single acre of land within the Iroquois heartland at the turn of the century.

English authorities could and did claim dominion over Iroquois lands on the strength of a deed negotiated by New York governor Thomas Dongan in 1684. Iroquois subjection, and the vast Iroquois "empire" allegedly placed under English protection under the terms of the deed, were largely political affectations politely countenanced by both peoples. Few Iroquois were willing to needlessly alienate English allies by denying what did not exist. The reality was something else. Despite claims to the contrary, no English official, or any other European for that matter, was able to exercise direct authority over any Iroquois community at the turn of the century.

Although Iroquois people joined other coalitions from time to time, they only formally admitted one other nation to their Confederacy during the historic contact period. Tuscaroras forced from their North Carolina homes after losing their war against British settlers and their Indian allies in the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 became the sixth Iroquois nation about 1722. Working to more effectively cooperate with their clients and each other, Iroquois diplomats struggled to more effectively use their League as a vehicle to project power and influence during the last decades of the 17th-century. Often adroitly manipulating traditional diplomatic protocols and symbol systems, they transformed the metaphorical Covenant Chain binding their Confederacy to English and Indian allies into a powerful political coalition.

Iroquois diplomats such as Daniel Garacontie had worked with Thomas Dongan, Edmund Andros, and other English administrators to forge the Covenant Chain into an effective alliance. At the same time, Iroquois chiefs struggled to make their own peace with the French. Finally succeeding in 1701, Iroquois people pursued an official policy of neutrality that ushered in what more than one scholar has called the "Golden Age of Iroquois Diplomacy." Enduring for more than 50 years, generally peaceful relationships maintained during this "Golden Age" allowed most Iroquois communities to experience a period of unprecedented prosperity.

No longer living under nearly constant threat of attack after nearly a half century of seemingly interminable conflict, Iroquois people increasingly turned their attention to more peaceful pursuits. Iroquois hunters, trappers, and traders travelled widely throughout the region. Closer to home, Iroquois diplomats worked to secure advantages for their people by exploiting divisions between powerful and fractious neighbors. Playing contending colonial factions off against one another, they obtained protection and gifts from rivals hoping to secure Iroquois support. In so doing, they were able to keep settlers out while letting trade goods in. At peace, effectively organized, generally prosperous, and politically astute, Iroquois people seized and held the balance of power in the region throughout the first half of the 1700s.

Substantial bodies of European documentation chronicle Iroquois diplomatic successes during this era. The same documents also reveal the Iroquois as a people who had changed greatly since the days of initial contact. Epidemics and wars probably reduced their population by more than 50% during the 17th-century. Forced to marry or adopt people from other communities, many people surviving this disastrous century came to trace their descent to foreigners.

More intensive contact had also brought other changes. Increasing numbers of Christian converts moved to mission settlements in and around the Iroquois heartland. Generally short-lived and quickly abandoned during the preceding century, French and British authorities consolidating control over their colonies were able to establish more permanent trading posts and forts in or near many Iroquois towns as the century progressed.

Settlement patterns in the region also changed dramatically during these years. The coming of peace allowed Iroquois people to move from densely populated walled towns to more dispersed small farmsteads or hamlets. House sizes also diminished as families increasingly moved away from lineage longhouses into smaller bark house or log cabins.

Change and stability also characterized all aspects of economic life in the region. Nearly all people living in Trans-Appalachian communities continued to cultivate crops, hunt, fish, and collect wild foods and materials. Many craftspeople also continued to produce or repair tools, weapons, or ornaments. Indian metalworkers using new materials fashioned iron, copper and other imported materials into traditional triangular projectile points or knives

while putting old materials to new uses. As James W. Bradley points out, flint knappers turned from producing projectile points and edged tools to gunflints. Men making clay and stone tobacco smoking pipes, for their part, increasingly crafted new and more elaborate forms (J. Bradley 1987a). Splint baskets and other new manufactures became important household items and trade commodities in most Indian households.

During the early 1700s, some families living near newcomers in more easterly reaches of the region began to raise small numbers of chickens, horses, cattle, pigs, and other domesticated animals brought over by Europeans. Apple, peach, cherry, and pear trees also became popular. Harvested fruits and vegetables were dried and stored in pots, baskets, house eaves, or pits. Wooden cribs and barns similar to the surviving example preserved in the Brant Homestead in the nominated Mohawk Upper Castle property also began to appear in Indian communities located near European settlements by the late 18th-century.

Imported tools, techniques, and crops increasingly came to dominate domestic life. Despite this fact, very few Indian people in the region grew dependent on Europeans for basic foodstuffs. Nearly every Indian household in the region continued to rely upon corn, bean, and squash cultivation, berry, greens, and nut gathering, hunting, fishing, and trapping for their food, furs, or clothing during the 18th-century.

No matter how they made their living, almost all people living in the region became involved in the international market economy centering around furs, diplomat gifts, and military service. Although many people produced stone and clay pipes, shell beads, stone, copper, or shell ornaments, wooden utensils, or bone or antler combs for export or domestic consumption, most of the region's inhabitants gradually fell under the influence of external market forces. Despite frequent attempts to enmesh them in local commodity markets, most Indian people made every effort to make their own economic choices on their own terms during these years.

Although many of these ideological, economic, and political developments are well reported in British and French archives, most contemporary changes in patterns of settlement, production, and consumption are difficult to document archeologically in the region. As mentioned earlier, most of the region's people stopped making temporally and culturally diagnostic artifacts from stone or clay by 1700. Deposits found in Indian sites dating after 1700, moreover, nearly always closely resemble those left by settlers. The movement from densely packed longhouse towns to widely scattered homesteads consisting of structures built after European models also makes it difficult to distinguish Indian sites from those of non-Indian colonists.

Occurrences of certain artifacts, such as wampum, catlinite beads, triangular metal projectile points, or Indian-made gunflints often indicate locations of later historic Indian settlements. Discoveries of glass beads, German silver ornaments, mouth harps, pipe tomahawks, and other objects manufactured primarily for the Indian trade also may be regarded as

archeological evidence of Indian occupation. And, of course, discoveries of remains of Indian people provide irrefutable evidence of Indian presence at particular sites.

Although some objects listed above, like gunlocks and coins bearing mint dates, can be used to date site deposits, scholars have not yet determined precise date ranges for many European and Indian artifacts of the period. More critically, while physical anthropologists frequently can determine racial identities of human remains, no method capable of definitively determining social identity or ethnic affiliation has yet been devised.

Aware of these and other problems, archeologists studying deposits thought to date to later historic contact period times always use written documents to verify findings. Happily, European records directly document Indian occupation at many of the locales discussed in the following pages. Many undocumented locales, for their part, contain Indian burials or Indian-modified tools, implements, ornaments, or weapons. Only a few of the properties inventoried in this study consist of non-diagnostic assemblages of indeterminate origin or provenance.

Iroquois people struggling to maintain the flow of trade goods to their communities worked to funnel proceeds of the western trade through their territories. Never succeeding in completely dominating this trade network, more easterly Iroquois trappers and traders nevertheless managed to dominate commerce at major entrepots at Albany and later at Oswego, constructed between 1722 and 1725 on the shores of Lake Ontario directly above Onondaga and Oneida territory. Farther west, Seneca people dominated access to French posts at Niagara established along the vital portage route between 1720 and 1726.

Diplomatic gifts and other payments made by British and French eager to maintain Iroquois friendship became increasingly important. Missionaries such as Gideon Hawley moving to upper Susquehanna Valley towns also brought hoes, knives, cattle, orchard trees, and other new wealth to converts. Jesuits enlarging already substantial settlements along the St. Lawrence enriched the lives of many proselytes. Anglican missionaries also provided aid and built chapels. Queen Anne sent two sets of silver communion services to the Iroquois during the first decades of the 1700s. Portions of the set originally sent to Mohawks living at the nominated Upper Castle was divided between the Grand River and Tyendinaga Mohawk communities in Ontario after the end of the American War of Independence. A second set, brought to New York for the Onondagas and never delivered, remains in an Albany church.

"New Light" ministers inspired by the "Great Awakening," such as Hawley, Henry Barclay, and Samuel Kirkland, often provided more tangible benefits to Indian people in various communities along the eastern periphery of the region. They frequently furnished resources needed to build log cabins and mills, fence fields, erect barns, and plant orchards. Increasing numbers of young men, like Joseph Brant, were educated in their schools. Translating religious tracts and other literature into Mohawk, these missionaries printed and distributed this literature throughout eastern Iroquois towns.

More direct European penetration of the Iroquois heartland began when Mohawk leaders fearing possible French attacks permitted New York authorities to construct Fort Hunter at the mouth of Schoharie Creek by the Lower Mohawk Castle of Tiononderoge during the height of Queen Anne's War in 1710. Located near European settlements bordering the easternmost reaches of their country, this post quickly became a center for colonial expansion as provincial authorities and local entrepreneurs began purchasing lands near the fort. Palatine German refugees were settled farther up the Schoharie river to the south of Fort Hunter by New York authorities shortly after the post's completion in 1712. Although their numbers remained small until 1723, these developments alarmed many Mohawk people.

Anxiety gave way to anger as settlers began to move onto lands north of Albany around Saratoga known as the Kayaderosseras Patent ten years later. Land speculators claimed this vast tract on the strength of a deed signed in 1704 by four Mohawk chiefs. Never paid the 60 pounds promised for the land, the Mohawks were alarmed to learn 30 years later that the purchasers had been granted a patent to more than a half a million acres of their land. Mohawk leaders hotly contested the deed for 30 more years. Supported by their neighbor and friend Sir William Johnson, the Crown's Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, they finally agreed to accept 5,000 dollars for already colonized eastern portions of the grant in 1768 (Nammack 1969).

Farther west, Great Britain and France vied for control of the Ohio country. The French established a string of posts at Oswegatchie, Niagara, Detroit, Vincennes, Fort Ouiatenon, Kaskaskia, and other places to strengthen their connection between the lower Great Lakes and the Mississippi. British traders began to move among the Ohio tribes shortly thereafter. French authorities countered by building forts closer to the western frontier of the region at the Forks of the Ohio and other locales in 1753. War between the contending colonial powers broke out one year later. Known as the Seven Years War, the Six Nations remained officially neutral throughout the struggle. Despite this fact, partisans favoring one side or the other created deep divisions within Iroquois councils. Closely aligned with Sir William Johnson, most Mohawk Valley Indian people openly sided with the British. Many Oneidas also fought alongside them. Other Mohawks living in New France joined Senecas and Cayugas supporting the French.

As in earlier conflicts, Iroquois leaders formally maintained neutrality while individual warriors and nations pursued their own policies. Although the pretence of League solidarity helped prevent invasion of their territory during the war, divisions widened by the conflict seriously divided Iroquois communities. These divisions grew as settlers and troops increasingly flooded across the southern and eastern frontiers of the Iroquois heartland following the British victory over the French in 1760. Neutrality became little more than an empty word as most Iroquois people found themselves caught up in the violent Indian reaction to the British refusal to honor their promise to abandon these forts in 1763. Many Senecas, for example, openly fought against the British in what today is known as Pontiac's

War between 1763 and 1765. Iroquois unity finally collapsed for a time when Iroquois communities split by conflicting loyalties brought on by the American War of Independence forced their leaders to ritually suspend Confederacy activities in 1777.

The decision of these communities to follow different courses of action during the war diminished whatever chances a united front might have had to either achieve neutrality or military success. In 1778, local settlers drove away those Mohawks who had not already left their homes for Montreal or Fort Niagara. A series of American armies, sometimes guided by Oneida supporters, burned the Susquehanna settlements and destroyed Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca towns between 1778 and 1779. Iroquois people outraged by these attacks subsequently retaliated by burning homes of Americans and their Indian supporters along the New York and Pennsylvania frontier.

Nearly every Iroquois community lay in ruins by the time the war ended in 1783. Most Mohawks moved to Canada after the fighting ended. Other Iroquois people were soon besieged by speculators anxious to acquire their lands. Finding themselves restricted to increasingly smaller plots of reservation land surrounding their towns, many gradually were forced to leave their lands altogether. Although many of these people moved west to Oklahoma and Wisconsin or north to Canada, large numbers stayed in their small remaining reservations in New York and Pennsylvania. Today, the descendants of these people live in New York reservation communities, rural towns, and cities throughout the region.

Refugees moving to the region during the 18th-century also were forced from their homes during this period. Delawares, Shawnees, Nanticokes, Saponis, and other displaced Algonquian or Siouian-speaking people living along the southern borders of the Iroquois heartland from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny initially moved to Ohio country during the 1750s and 1760s. Today, people tracing descent from these people live in small communities scattered throughout eastern North America.

Sources

A large body of materials document Indian life in the region. Although much of this material forms the basis of articles published in the "Northeast" volume of the Smithsonian Institution's "Handbook of North American Indians" (Trigger 1978a), few scholars have attempted to write overviews of the region's culture. William N. Fenton's already cited survey article, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," which leads off the Handbook's "Saint Lawrence Lowlands" section devoted to Iroquoian-speaking groups, provides one of the best and most accessible general guides to the subject. "Extending the Rafters," a festschrift celebrating Fenton's contributions to Iroquois studies, contains a number of excellent general articles on Iroquoian ethnography, linguistics, and archeology (Foster, Campisi, and Mithun 1984). Earlier surveys edited by Fenton (1951) and Fenton and John Gulick (1961) also contain important information.

Information on Susquehannock culture is summarized in the work of Francis Jennings (1968b and 1978) and Barry C. Kent (1984). Volumes written by Francis Jennings (1984 and 1988b) and P.A.W. Wallace (1981) are among the many studies of immigrant Indians living in the region. Useful reviews of information on Monacans and other people living in the most southerly reaches of the region may be found in Bushnell (1930, 1933, and 1935), Fowkes (1894), Hantman (1990b), Mooney (1894), and Mouer (1983).

Large amounts of information on Indian life in the region were included in dispatches sent by Jesuit fathers working in New France and Acadia to their Superior in France during the colonial era. Much of this documentation is printed in the "Jesuit Relations" (Thwaites 1896-1901). Other important early information is provided in Jesuit father Jean-Francois Lafitau's 1724 study of Iroquois culture (Fenton and Moore 1974-1977). John Smith's journals provide most of the little information known about early historic Indian life in the most southerly portion of the region (Barbour 1986; J. Smith 1624). Other useful insights appear in journals written by such visitors as John Bartram (Bartram 1751) and Augustus Spangenburg (1879).

Iroquois culture has attracted particular scholarly attention since Lewis Henry Morgan published the first modern ethnography, "League of the Ho-de'-no-sau-nee," in 1851. Since then, hundreds of books and thousands of articles have examined nearly every aspect of Iroquois life. As a result of this attention, Iroquois people belong to one of the most extensively studied Indian nations in North America.

Thousands of manuscript pages stored in archival repositories throughout North America and Europe document Iroquois treaty negotiations with Europeans. The sheer weight of this documentation attests to the significance Iroquois held in colonial councils. Particularly significant published compilations have been edited by Leder (1956), O'Callaghan (1849-1851), O'Callaghan and Fernow (1853-1887), and Wraxall (1915). Needed retranslations of much of the Dutch material printed in these and other compilations may be found in New Netherland project research publications (e.g. Gehring 1977; 1980; 1981).

Much of this and other published and unpublished documentary material dating from 1613 to 1913 has been gathered together and microfilmed by "Documentary History of the Iroquois" project scholars. A reference guide, containing summary articles on Iroquois diplomacy and general lists of treaty meetings, prominent personalities, and locations of significant events and communities, introduces these materials (Jennings, et al. 1985).

Scholars have been mining these documents since Cadwallader Colden used written records of Iroquois-English relations to write a history of the Confederacy justifying English sovereignty over an Iroquois "empire" stretching from New York to the Mississippi Valley (Colden 1747). More recently, other studies, such as George T. Hunt's seminal inquiry into the possible economic causes of Iroquois warfare (Hunt 1940), George S. Snyderman's sociological slant on the subject (Snyderman 1948), and Daniel K. Richter and James H.

Merrell's recent studies on Iroquois conflict and diplomacy with other nations and each other (Richter 1983 and 1985; Richter and Merrell 1987), have helped shape discourse on the subject.

Although criticized with much justification by Francis Jennings in recent years, the sweep, scope, and eloquence of Francis Parkman's accounts of the struggle for sovereignty and survival in the region still make them an indispensable if guilty pleasure to many scholars (Parkman 1865-1892). Useful discussions of 17th-century political affairs may be found in Fenton (1988), Richter (1983; 1988), Trelease (1960), and Trigger (1978b and 1980). Eighteenth-century developments are treated in Aquila (1983), Fenton (1988), Jennings (1984 and 1988b), Downes (1940), Graymont (1972), and Trigger (1978b).

Numerous studies document other aspects of Iroquois life. Iroquois foodways, for example, are summarized in Parker (1910) and Waugh (1916). Settlement and town relocation are addressed in (Fenton 1978; Ritchie and Funk 1973; Starna, Hamell, and Butts 1984; Sykes 1980). Aspects of Iroquois ceremonial and religious life are examined in Beauchamp (1907), Fenton (1953 and 1987), Parker (1968), E. Tooker (1970), and A.F.C. Wallace (1970). Differing views of the status of Iroquois women are presented in J.K. Brown (1970) and E. Tooker (1984b). Contrasting Mohawk Revolutionary War loss claims and other documentation with archeological evidence, archeologist David Guldenzopf has identified emerging economic, political, and social inequalities in late 18th-century Mohawk communities (Guldenzopf (1986). Other studies seek to understand the social, economic, and spiritual motivations behind Iroquois torture and slavery (Knowles 1940; Starna and Watkins 1991).

The Trans-Appalachian region has been the site of intensive archeological interest for many years. During that time, professional and avocational archeologists have identified thousands of sites throughout the region. More than 450 of these locales contain deposits associated with protohistoric or historic Indian occupations.

A vast literature documents the archeology of the region. Papers published in the recently published 75th Anniversary issue of the New York Archaeological Association journal provide up-to-date summaries of the archeological state of knowledge for the Eries (Engelbrecht 1991), the Senecas (Saunders and Sempowski 1991), the Cayugas (Niemczycki 1991), the Mohawks (Snow 1991a), the Oneidas (P. Pratt 1991), and Saint Lawrence Iroquoian people (Pendergast 1991b and M. Pratt 1991). Also see comprehensive overviews written by Snow (1984) and Tuck (1978). Scholars such as Arthur C. Parker, Richard S. MacNeish, William A. Ritchie, and Robert E. Funk have made important general contributions to New York Iroquois archeology (Parker 1922; W. Ritchie 1969; W. Ritchie and Funk 1973; W. Ritchie and MacNeish 1973). Other studies survey the archeology of the Mohawks (Andrefsky 1980; Guldenzopf 1986; Lenig 1965; Rumrill 1985; Snow 1989b), the Oneidas (P. Pratt 1976), the Onondagas (J. Bradley 1987; Tuck 1971), and people living in historic Seneca and Cayuga country (Niemczycki 1984; Skinner 1921; Wray 1985).

The work of Marian E. White (1961) and James V. Wright (1966) has guided archeological research in Ontario and the Niagara frontier since the 1960s. Saint Lawrence Iroquoian archeology is summarized by James F. Pendergast (1975; 1985; 1991b). Robert E. Funk and Bruce E. Rippeteau have surveyed late upper Susquehanna Valley prehistory (Funk and Rippeteau 1977). The earlier mentioned study by Barry C. Kent has documented historic Susquehannock archeology (Kent 1984). Shenks Ferry research is summarized in Heisey and Witmer (1964) and Kinsey and Graybill (1971). Studies of Monongahela archeology may be found in Dragoo (1955), Griffin (1978), and W.C. Johnson (1990). Virginia piedmont archeology is examined in Hantman (1990b) and Mouer (1983). Farther west, C.G. Holland's survey of southwestern Virginian archeology remains a benchmark for future research (Holland 1970). Building from Holland's work, Howard A. MacCord has identified a widespread Intermontane Culture in this area of western Virginia and southeastern West Virginia (MacCord 1989b). Archeological research associated with the more westerly lower Great Lake Prairie-Peninsula Co-Tradition is summarized in Stothers and Graves (1985).

These and most other studies generally focus attention upon more readily discernable nucleated 16th- and 17th-century sites. Less is known about the archeology of 18th-century life in the region. Largely consisting of decentralized towns or individual homesteads containing deposits similar to those found in contemporary colonial settlements, investigators need to direct increased attention towards identifying and analyzing 18th-century properties throughout the region.

MOHAWK COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

As elsewhere in the region, archeological deposits represent the only body of physical evidence directly associated with life in Mohawk country during protohistoric times. Few oral traditions clearly dating to this era have been documented, and Europeans journeying to the area before 1634 have not left written records of their visits. Professional archeologists, such as Arthur C. Parker, Mark Raymond Harrington, Richard S. MacNeish, William A. Ritchie, Robert E. Funk, Dean R. Snow, and William A. Starna have long studied the archeology of this and subsequent centuries in the Mohawk Valley. As elsewhere, much of the work in the area has been done by avocationalists. Some of these devoted amateurs, like Donald A. Rumrill and the late Donald Lenig, have written studies equal to any produced by professional investigators. Others, however, have been less systematic.

Building upon the historic Mohawk site sequence first published by Donald Rumrill in 1985, Dean Snow, director of the State University of New York at Albany's multi-year Mohawk Valley Archaeological Survey, has compiled what is perhaps the most complete site inventory for any area in the region. While differing in a number of particulars, Snow and Rumrill

agree that not enough is presently known about the archeology of Mohawk Valley Indian life to precisely trace relationships between people living in particular sites or incontrovertibly associate archeological deposits with historically documented communities.

Working with Rumrill, Mohawk Valley Archaeological Survey archeologists Dean Snow and William Starna inventoried 14 sites dating to the 1500s during the 1980s. Located above the northern banks of the Mohawk River, diagnostic assemblages at each site are dominated by chipped stone triangular projectile points and distinctive collared incised Garoga phase wares based on Chance phase antecedents. The earliest of these properties, the late Chance phase Wormuth and Otstungo sites, and the Garoga phase Bellinger, Cairns, Crum Creek, and Saltsman, sites, contain no objects of European origin. Later Garoga phase deposits dating to later decades of the century recovered from the Cayadutta, Klock, Garoga, Ganada, and Smith-Pagerie sites, are marked by the presence of small amounts of smelted metal or brass beads and the absence of other European goods or materials.

All but the Saltsman site, whose owner refuses to grant access to investigators, are known to contain deposits representing remains of hamlets or townsites. The largest of these sites encompass from two to four acres. Often fortified, most are located some distance from riverbanks. The Cairns, Saltsman, and Otstungo sites are situated atop hills or ridges. Studies of the locations and contents of these sites corroborate more recent Mohawk oral traditions affirming that their ancestors were living in the Valley bearing their name when Europeans first journeyed to North Atlantic shores.

The Garoga site, a townsite located atop a narrow bluff above Caroga Creek, is the most extensively studied of these towns (W. Ritchie and Funk 1973). Long known by local collectors and first systematically excavated by Mark Raymond Harrington in 1905, excavations directed by Robert Funk during the early 1960s unearthed extensive deposits of Garoga phase wares and lithics, small numbers of smelted metal objects, and postmold patterns of nine longhouses and two parallel stockade walls. Stretching along the bluff's narrowest point for 75 feet, these walls commanded the only level approach to a town sheltering people living in at least three clusters of three 100 to 200 foot long longhouses placed parallel to one another within a two and a half acre village area. Noting that all historic Mohawk people belonged to one of three clans, archeologists believe that Garoga's village plan may reflect such a tripartite social organization.

Robert Funk believes that most people living at the nearby Klock site moved along Caroga Creek to Garoga sometime between 1550 and 1570. Many of Garoga's inhabitants probably began moving to the nearby Smith-Pagerie and Ganada sites as early as 1575.

These and other data describing known 16th-century Mohawk Valley sites are recorded in SUNY Albany's Mohawk Drainage Site Inventory (MDSI) and reported in Snow (1989b and 1991a). Seeing continuity rather than change in the available evidence, Snow believes that Mohawk Valley sites show few signs of forced relocations, settlement pattern disruption, or

abrupt changes in artifact types or assemblages. Noting that the few European materials found in late 16th-century Mohawk Valley sites are not accompanied by discernable changes in the archeological record, Snow believes that these patterns of technological conservatism reflect a period of general stability and continuity.

The Seventeenth Century

Mohawk people first appear in European records as the Indians defeated by Algonquin and Montagnais warriors aided by Samuel de Champlain and two other musket-bearing Frenchmen on the shores of Lake Champlain on July 29, 1609. Some years later, Dutch traders chronicled their first peaceful commercial contacts with Mohawks visiting the banks of the Hudson River near modern Albany, New York. These initial accounts, the first written records known to clearly identify Mohawks as a distinct people, provide the first evidence of conflict and trade that would dominate much of Mohawk history during the 17th and 18th-centuries.

The word Mohawk is not an Iroquoian term. Often written down as some variant of Maqua, Mohogg, or Mawhawke by Dutch or English recordists, the name appears to be an Algonquian term for Mohawks. The word has been translated as "bear" or "man-eater, cannibal monster." The former etymology possibly derives from the name of one of the three major Mohawk clans. Maqua, a term for Mohawk commonly used by Dutch settlers during the 17th-century, is thought to reflect this term.

Mohawk people generally call themselves **Kaniengehaga.** Long thought to mean "People of the place of the flint," more recent studies suggest that the term come from the Mohawk word for "crystal" (clear quartz crystals known as Little Falls or Herkimer Diamonds are found in abundance near the sites of their towns). Whatever its meaning, Mohawks continue to call their homeland "Kanienke." This heartland stretches across the Mohawk Valley from the Schoharie Valley west to the East Canada Creek drainage. Claiming lands from Adirondack country to the north to the upper reaches of the Susquehanna River in the south, discoveries of Mohawk-style pots in sites as far east as Maine and as far south as Munsee country corroborate written records and oral traditions attesting to the extent of Mohawk power and influence in the region during historic times.

Surviving documentary sources affirm that Mohawk life generally centered around major fortified towns at various times during the 1600s. The most important of these towns often were called castles by colonial chroniclers. Some writers, like Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, the Fort Orange surgeon who probably penned the earliest known first hand European descriptions of Mohawk and Oneida towns in 1634, noted that Mohawk people lived in as many as eight towns during these years. Some of these communities almost assuredly were small towns associated with one or another of four major settlements. Others probably represented communities in transition.

Two of the three major Mohawk communities, their 17th-century capital known as the Upper Castle or Tionnontoguen, "valley" or "between two mountains," and the middlemost town of Kanagaro, variously translated as "sticks" or "a pole in the water," kept their names through numerous relocations. People living in the easternmost or lower Mohawk castle, by contrast, often changed the names of their settlements. First identified as Onekahoncka (whose name may have had something to do with water) in the 1634-1635 journal attributed to Van den Bogaert, this community subsequently was identified as Ossernenon by French Jesuit priest Isaac Jogues in 1643 and as Asserue by Dutch domine Johannes Megapolensis, Jr. one year later. Writing in 1646, Jogues noted that its inhabitants had moved their town and changed its name to Oneugioure. Thirteen years later, other writers noted that Mohawks called the place Kaghnuwage, "at the rapids." Destroyed by French raiders in 1666, Mohawks relocating the community north of the river continued to use the term Caughnawaga to identify both their easternmost town and an offshoot community established by Mohawk refugees on the banks of the St. Lawrence River just west of Montreal in 1676.

Fifty seven properties listed in the Mohawk Drainage Site Inventory contain components believed to date to the 17th-century. Datable European goods, such as glass beads, and brass, copper, or iron objects dating from 1609 to the mid 1620s have been found at nine of these locales. Snow suggests that the inhabitants of these sites probably moved on to new settlements by 1624. Avocationalist John H. McCashion believes that they were occupied as late as 1626 (McCashion 1991).

Like earlier 16th-century sites, nearly all of these properties are located north of the Mohawk River. The Chapin, Barker, and Martin sites are located in the easternmost reaches of Mohawk country. Farther west, contemporary deposits have been found at England's Woods, Coleman-Van Duesen, Briggs Run, and Rice's Woods. To the west, similarly dated archeological remains have been identified at Wagner's Hollow, Dewandalaer, and Failing.

Although exact occupational sequences and site associations have not yet been worked out for these sites, all apparently represent the remains of roughly contemporary Mohawk townsites. A French gunflint and a matchlock gun part found at Martin provide the first evidence of firearms at a site in the Mohawk Valley. Although documentary records of the period record nearly continual hostilities between Mohawk people and their Canadian Algonquin and French adversaries, fighting during these years evidently did not induce Mohawks to move their towns south of the river. Raiding towns and attacking travelers, Mohawks probably used their towns as springboards for raiding parties heading north towards the St. Lawrence.

This situation changed dramatically after war broke out with neighboring Mahican people living along the eastern frontier of Kanienke in 1624. Existing records indicate that many Mohawk communities suffered severe losses during this conflict. Forced to fight on two fronts and suddenly exposed to attacks from nearby enemies well armed by Dutch traders

and capable of doing more than mounting a few raids, Mohawks suddenly faced a formidable threat to their survival. Available archeological and documentary evidence indicate that Mohawk people probably responded to this challenge by strategically withdrawing their towns to more secure locales south of the Mohawk River.

Archeologists have found deposits roughly dating from the mid-1620s to the late 1630s or early 1640s at a number of Mohawk Valley locales. All are located to the south of the Mohawk River. Correlating artifact frequencies, site size, location, and other data with geographic descriptions penned by the author of the journal documenting the Dutch visit to Mohawk country in 1634 and 1635, investigators have long sought to link known archeological sites with the locales of the eight towns named by the Dutch chronicler. Some investigators, such as William Starna, believe that few known sites can be definitively associated with Mohawk communities chronicled by the Dutch diarist. Others, like Dean Snow and Donald Rumrill, provisionally have linked all locales documented in 1634-1635 with archeological properties.

Both Snow and Rumrill agree that the Cromwell site may contain the remains of the Mohawk town of Onekahoncka noted by the Dutch traveler. McCashion and Hagerty identify the Bauder site as Onekahoncka on the basis of poorly provenienced European white clay tobacco pipes and other materials in private collections (Hagerty 1985; McCashion 1991). Surveys conducted in 1986 indicate that Bauder was a relatively small locale capable of containing no more than nine houses. Onekahoncka, on the other hand, was described as a major town containing 36 houses (Rumrill 1992a).

Snow, Rumrill, and Starna suggest that the Rumrill-Naylor site was the locale of the important town of Canagere. Snow goes on to propose that the Brown and Failing sites represent the remains of the Schanidisse ("the town has been remade") and Tenotoge (also noted as Tenotogehage) castles. Although McCashion does not believe Failing is the site of Tenotoge, he believes that it dates to the years 1626-1639. Snow further suggests that the Yates, Sand Hill Number 1, and Bauder sites may represent, respectively, the smaller Canowarode ("a nail stuck in the wall"), Cawaoge ("a place where the road is submerged"), and Schatsyerosy ("one fingernail removed") communities. Another small site, Fisk, may contain the remains of the small town of Osquage ("on top of the roof").

Donald Rumrill's analyses of glass beads, lead and pewter effigies, firearm parts, or white clay pipe heelmarks recovered from the Bauder, Brown, and Fisk sites have led him to suggest that these sites probably were built sometime after the Dutch travelers left Mohawk country. Rumrill further suggests that the Yates site was occupied ten years before the Dutch expedition.

Clay pipes, glass beads, and other objects of European manufacture have been found with large numbers of aboriginally produced materials at most of these sites. Copper or brass

triangular projectile points, European white clay tobacco pipes, musket balls, lead sprue, and gunflints have been found at Bauder, Cromwell, and Rumrill-Naylor.

The smallest number of houses noted in a community enumerated by the Dutch chronicler was nine. The largest of the towns described by the chronicler, Tenotoge, reportedly contained 55 longhouses. Although several of their larger sites were identified as castles, only Tenotoge was noted as having extensive, albeit dilapidated, palisade fortifications.

Ravaged by war and devastated by epidemic disease, Mohawks sought to secure their borders during these years. Evidently forced from some of their easternmost towns during their first chronicled war with the Mahicans during the 1620s, the Mohawks defeated and temporarily dispersed their Mahican adversaries by 1628. Negotiating from a position of strength, Mohawk diplomats subsequently concluded a lasting peace with the Dutch at Fort Orange. Allying themselves with the colonists, the Mohawks managed to obtain nearly untrammeled access to vitally important Dutch markets at Fort Orange.

Snow's analysis of glass beads and other European artifacts found at the Crouse/Klemme, Oak Hill Number 1, Van Evera-McKinney, and Janie sites shows that most Mohawk people moved to these locales sometime between 1635-1655. Unwilling to assign date ranges to the Crouse/Klemme site, Rumrill believes that Snow's timespans for the other sites are insufficiently specific. He dates Oak Hill Number 1 and Van Evera-McKinney with the Rumrill-Naylor and Bauder sites to 1634-1646. He further dates the Janie site assemblage to 1646-1659 (Rumrill 1992a). McCashion, for his part, thinks that only the Mitchell and Printup sites can be dated to the years 1645-1655.

Despite their differences, all investigators agree that these and other sites dating to the second quarter of the century contain unprecedentedly large quantities of iron and copper tools, European white clay tobacco pipes, other implements, weapons, and ornaments. Particularly large numbers of lead musket balls and gun parts have been recovered from deposits believed to represent the remains of a small hamlet at the Janie site. Seriating glass beads, European white clay tobacco pipe heelmarks, and gun parts found at the site, Rumrill dates Janie deposits to the years 1646-1659. He further believes that the discovery of a Jesuit ring helps date the site to the late 1650s during the initial period of Jesuit mission-ization among the Mohawks (Rumrill 1992a). The presence of such a ring also may represent an incident of exchange, a piece of booty, the presence of a Jesuit captive, or the sojourn of a Huron or Algonquin Indian prisoner, visitor, or spouse.

Visits by Jesuit priests, initiated during a brief interval of peace between the Mohawks and the French, ended abruptly in 1646 when Mohawk people tortured and killed Father Jogues for allegedly magically causing an epidemic. Rumrill suggests that Jogues was killed at Canagere in what he believes is the Rumrill-Naylor site (Rumrill 1992a). Soon afterwards, Mohawks helped their Iroquois confederates defeat the Hurons and their neighbors. Successful Mohawk warriors brought large amounts of booty and many prisoners home to

their towns. Although nearly all captives surviving the trip back to Kanienke were soon adopted by Mohawk families, many of these people may have soon been sacrificed, enslaved, killed by epidemic disease, or brought to Oneida country to become husbands to many of the Oneida women widowed after Huron and Algonquin warriors succeeded in capturing and killing much of the Oneida adult male population in 1638.

Having secured their northern frontiers, many Mohawks turned their attention to the south during the early 1650s. Concluding an alliance with Mahicans who had returned to their country and made peace with their old adversaries, warriors from both nations joined Iroquois war parties attacking Susquehannock towns in 1651. Heavy losses compelled the Mohawks to break off the struggle the following year. They had little reason to continue the war. Mohawk policy of the period centered around controlling the vital trade route to Fort Orange. Since most Susquehannocks did not trade at Fort Orange, Mohawks subsequently let other Iroquois more threatened by Susquehannock competition bear the brunt of this struggle.

Iroquois warriors virtually blockaded the western approaches of New France during these years. Exhausted by the war and anxious to reopen trade, French authorities finally agreed to make peace in 1653. Those Iroquois chiefs willing to treat with the French exacted a high price for peace. Agreeing to renew their friendship with the French, they refused to stop attacking French Indian allies. Too weak to protest, French authorities accepted their conditions and signed the document.

Although the French treaty allowed the Senecas and other western Iroquois people to concentrate efforts to eliminate remaining rivals like the Eries, whose towns were finally destroyed in 1656, it failed to satisfy most Mohawks. Many Mohawk people were intent upon removing French influence from their towns altogether. Even Mohawks favoring a French alliance wished to keep their friends at a safe distance. Angered by what they regarded as French intrigue in their towns, many Mohawks supported the efforts of several chiefs to expel Jesuit priests from Onondaga in 1658. Soon afterwards, Mohawk war parties were again waylaying French convoys.

Archeological deposits dated by Snow from 1655 to 1666 found at the Allen, Horatio-Nellis, Freeman, Printup, and Mitchell sites indicate that most Mohawk people moved to new town sites during these years. Differing with Snow, Rumrill assigns the earlier Janie site to this period, suggests that Printup was occupied from 1646 to 1659, proposes inclusive occupation dates ranging from 1659 to 1666 at the Freeman site, dates Horatio/Nellis to the period 1680-1693. He further thinks that the people found in graves at the Ford site, in what is presently regarded as a cemetery for the Mitchell site or a contemporary locale, were interred some 25 years earlier. Believing Allen and Horatio-Nellis to date to the late 1600s and early 1700s, McCashion suggests that only the Yates and Freeman sites contain glass beads and white clay tobacco pipes dating to the years just before 1666.

All of the sites dated by Snow to this time period contain remains of compact settlements located to the south of the Mohawk River. Avocationalist Kingston Larner found evidence of palisade fortifications at the Freeman site (Rumrill 1985). Rumrill further identifies Freeman as the site of the first Kagnuwage town (Rumrill 1992a). Gun parts, lead musket balls, iron swords, and the wide range of Dutch, English, and French trade goods attest to the success of Mohawk military and commercial ventures. Although Jesuit rings, brass crucifixes, and religious medals have not been found at Freeman, their presence in contemporary sites also may furnish evidence of growing Catholic influence in Kanienke at this time.

People living in these towns concluded a new alliance with the English conquerors of New Netherland in 1664. They did not, however, join the other four Iroquois nations in a peace treaty with the French in 1665. Counting on the neutrality of their Iroquois compatriots and assuming that the newly arrived English were too weak to effectively support allies, Canadian governor Daniel de Remy de Courcelle marched a French army south toward the Mohawk towns that winter. Ambushed by Mohawk warriors, Courcelle's force was forced to retreat. A second column commanded by Courcelle's successor, Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy, set out the following fall. Advancing carefully, de Tracy's men succeeded in destroying every Mohawk town. Demoralized by this attack and angered by the failure of their new English allies to protect their homes, Mohawk leaders grudgingly agreed to put their marks upon a new peace treaty with the French in 1667.

Deposits dated by Snow and Rumrill to the years 1666-1683 at the Fox Farm, White Orchard/Gerstenberger, Schenck, Dewandalaer, Lipe, and Turtle Pond sites indicate that people living in towns destroyed by de Tracy's men quickly rebuilt their communities. All of these sites are located to the north of the Mohawk River. Most investigators agree that Fox Farm probably is the site of the fortified Lower Mohawk Castle of Caughnawaga. A French account written in 1668 states that two thirds of the town's inhabitants were Huron or Algonquin captives. Nearly ten years later, Greenhalgh wrote that "Cahaniaga is double stockadoed round has four ports about four foott wide a piece, contayns about 24 houses, & is situate upon ye edge of an hill, about a bow shott from ye river side" (O'Callaghan 1849-1851).

The Schenck site probably represents the remains of Kanagaro town. Snow and Rumrill agree that White Orchard/Gerstenberger or Jackson-Everson sites may represent the site of the Upper Mohawk Castle of Tionnontoguen. Gerstenberger is the White Orchard town cemetery. The much smaller Lipe site probably contains the remains of a small associated hamlet.

Large amounts of English and French imports and increasingly fewer domestically produced goods have been found at each of these locales. The overall picture presented by these findings indicates that most Mohawks became a prosperous trading nation during these years. Findings of a French coin and Jesuit rings also may corroborate documents recorded

increasing incidences of factionalism in Mohawk towns during the years following the 1667 treaty.

Extant documents show that growing numbers of Mohawks converted to Catholicism shortly after Jesuits began to reestablish missions throughout the Iroquois heartland after 1667. Jesuit successes at Caughnawaga indicate that they may have particularly appealed to the many adopted captives and slaves living in the town. Once again able to travel freely following the reestablishment of peace in the region, many adopted or enslaved proselytes subsequently may have left Mohawk country and moved north to the St. Lawrence Valley. Initially settling at La Prairie, most soon moved to a new Indian town called Caughnawaga just west of Montreal.

Alarmed by such developments, Mohawk leaders ejected the Jesuits and their followers in 1683. Both Snow and Rumrill believe that the western Mohawk town at Jackson-Everson was built before 1680. McCashion thinks it was abandoned by 1675. Some or all of the inhabitants of the White Orchard site may have moved to Jackson-Everson before both locales were abandoned sometime around 1683. Rumrill and Snow suggest that deposits found at the Fox Farm site indicate that most townsfolk leaving the site after 1683 probably were among the many Mohawk Valley expatriots building new homes at the St. Lawrence Valley Caughnawaga community. Ironically, extant evidence suggests that the Mohawk Valley Caughnawaga site presently preserved by Franciscan Order Minor Conventuals as the home of these immigrants probably contains the remains of a town built by Mohawk people sometime after the Jesuit expulsion.

Relations with the French soon worsened. Responding to renewed Seneca raids on western convoys, an army led by de Tracy's successor, Jacques Rene de Brisay, marquis de Denonville, marched into their country and burned their towns in 1687. Two years later, war again broke out between France and England. Most New York Mohawks actively supported their English allies during this phase of the conflict, generally known today as King William's War. One of their raids, a particularly devastating surprise attack upon the Montreal suburb of Lachine made during the spring of 1689, spread terror throughout New France.

Responding to this and subsequent incursions, Louis de Buade de Frontenac, governor of New France, led a column of Canadian habitants and Caughnawaga men into Mohawk country during the spring of 1693. Although Canadian Caughnawagas reputedly warned their kinsfolk of the attack and refused to engage them in combat, Mohawk Valley people were forced to watch helplessly as Frontenac's force burned their towns. Returning to Iroquois country in 1696, French troops aided by Indian allies destroyed the Oneida and Onondaga towns. Although France and England made peace with one another one year later, the Mohawks and their Iroquois confederates were not able to conclude their own treaty with the French until 1701.

Census returns of Iroquois towns reported at the end of King William's War indicate that fully half of the 2,000 people believed to have been living in Kanienke in 1689 were not there when Europeans made peace among themselves in 1697. Analyzing archeological and archival data, Starna (1980) suggests that their population may have ranged from 4,129 to 5,134 at that time. Whatever their number, many Mohawk people had been killed in the fighting. Diseases, like the smallpox epidemic spread by warriors returning from an abortive expedition against Canada in 1691, killed others.

Still others moved away. Some joined Oneida, Onondaga, Mahican, Munsee, and other people settling in new towns along the northernmost reaches of the Susquehanna at Tioga, Oquaga, and other places. A few moved farther west toward the West Branch of the Susquehanna and beyond. Still more had moved to New France.

Very nearly every Mohawk family had been burned out its home by the war's end. Many Mohawk people forced to abandon their towns in 1693 took refuge among their English allies in a fortified settlement at Schuyler Flatts just above Albany on the banks of the Hudson River. Deposits dating to the years immediately following the 1693 attack found at the Allen, Auriesville Number 1 and 3, Galligan Number 2, Milton Smith, and Prospect Hill/Fort Plain Cemetery sites suggest that most of these people soon rebuilt new homes.

Snow suggests that Milton Smith and Auriesville, both located on the south side of the Mohawk River, represent the remains of homes built by Caughnawaga townsfolk between 1694 and 1712. Proposing that the Milton Smith site contains the remains of the historically documented Lower Mohawk Castle, Snow suggests that the smaller Auriesville Number 1 site and the adjoining Auriesville Number 3 town cemetery may have been built to accommodate other Mohawk expatriates returning to Kanienke sometime around 1700.

Examining evidence suggesting the presence of several components, Snow proposes that the Allen site may have reoccupied by Mohawk people shortly after 1693. Studying the same collections, Rumrill believes that the site escaped destruction in 1693 and was continuously occupied from 1693 to 1712 (Rumrill 1992a).

The poorly-known Prospect Hill site and the adjoining Fort Plain Cemetery also may contain the remains of another contemporary Mohawk Valley community. Snow suggests that burials found at the nearby Galligan Number 2 site may represent a cemetery used by Prospect Hill people. Rumrill, for his part, has shown that Galligan Number 2 is a unique multi-component property also containing remains of small towns dating to the 1500s, 1620-1640, and 1720-1740 (Rumrill 1992a). A blockhouse and fort built during the War of Independence also are located on the site. While the evidence is far from conclusive, the Allen site may represent the late 17th and early 18th-century location of the Mohawk Middle Castle. Prospect Hill, for its part, may contain the remains of the contemporary Upper Castle.

Artifact assemblages found at these sites closely resemble those found in sites believed to have been burned during Frontenac's raid. Although the generally conservative nature of these assemblages indicates that Mohawk material culture was not seriously disrupted by the war, known site plans suggest dramatic settlement pattern changes. First and foremost, the disappearance of the central Mohawk town from European documents and the archeological record after 1693 indicates that its inhabitants moved to other Mohawk communities in or beyond the borders of Kanienke. Unlike the compact and often fortified towns frequently built before 1693, the two remaining centers of Mohawk occupation within the heart of their ancestral territories became widely dispersed towns made up of homesteads consisting of one or more longhouses or log cabins. Mirroring similar choices made by other Iroquois people, these changes show that Mohawk families no longer forced to constantly be on guard against attack or invasion generally chose to abandon close, cramped, indefensible, and often pestilential enclosures.

The Eighteenth Century

The Mohawks entered the 18th-century a much changed people. Although most of these people continued to live in Kanienke, increasing numbers settled permanently in New France and elsewhere. Wherever they lived, most Mohawks prospered in the years following the signing of the 1701 Montreal treaty. Mohawk trappers and traders ranged far into the interior in search of pelts, trading partners, and adventure. Closer to home, Mohawks and their Mahican and Munsee neighbors carried the lucrative and illicit trade between Albany and Montreal.

This trade continued as a new war, known as Queen Anne's War, broke out between France and England in 1703. Officially maintaining neutrality, Mohawks smuggled goods across the frontier with the tacit consent of both adversaries. Although each adversary formally respected their neutrality, both tirelessly worked to enlist Mohawk support in the struggle.

Most Mohawks living in New France agreed to fight for their French allies. New York recruiters initially encountered indifferent receptions in many Mohawk Valley communities. Remembering the devastation of the last war, most Mohawk people politely reminded recruiters that they were neutrals and refused to openly side with Great Britain.

Mohawk people gradually came to more actively support their British allies as the war wound on. Three Mohawk leaders, including the noted Canajoharie warrior Hendrick and Brant, grandfather of the famous Revolutionary War Mohawk military leader Joseph Brant, were among the four "Indian Kings" brought to Queen Anne's court to drum up support for an invasion of New France in 1710. Returning home the following year, these men encouraged their warriors to join the British army gathering above Albany.

The expedition broke up before any Mohawks saw combat in New France. Despite this fact, Mohawk leaders fearing French retaliation allowed the British to build forts along their

eastern frontier. Taking advantage of this unprecedented opportunity, New York authorities erected Fort Hunter at the mouth of Schoharie Creek in 1712. Fearful of French attack and eager to take advantage of trade opportunities, most people from the Auriesville Number 1 and Milton Smith sites built a palisaded town containing from 40 to 50 houses near the post. Remaining there until the fighting stopped, most of these people subsequently built new homes along the south bank of the Mohawk River west of Fort Hunter. This straggling settlement came to be known as Tiononderoge, "junction of two waterways." Other Mohawks moved south among Mahicans, Munsees, and other River Indians settling along the upper reaches of the Schoharie River at this time.

Most Mohawk people living at Allen and other nearby sites, for their part, moved into a series of small settlements stretching along the southern banks of the Mohawk River to the southeast of Little Falls for at least two miles during these years. The remains of a part of this settlement, known as Canajoharie, "washed kettle," are preserved within nominated Upper Castle Archaeological district deposits. Varying in size and density over the years, both Canajoharie and Tiononderoge would continue to be the two most important Mohawk communities within Kanienke for the next 50 years.

Queen Anne's War ended for the colonists and their Indian allies in 1714. Leaving their other posts in Iroquoia, the British did not abandon Fort Hunter. Although some Mohawk people were alarmed by this development, most came to appreciate the convenience of a permanent post near their homes. Many did business with traders, gunsmiths, blacksmiths, and other resident tradesfolk. Others looked to the post for support and supplies when trap lines were empty or crops failed. Still others came to take communion from the silver service sent by Queen Anne or hear Protestant ministers preach from the pulpit of the chapel built within the post walls.

Most Mohawks ultimately accepted this British outpost in their territory. Numbering fewer than 1,000 people, they realized that they could no longer hold back colonial expansion alone. Many looked to the British to safeguard their territory. British land speculators had other ideas.

Anxious to expand settlements west of Schenectady, land speculators began land purchase negotiations with Mohawks even before the new fort was finished. Small numbers of Palatine German refugees were settled on lands around Fort Hunter as early as 1713. Ten years later, hundreds of Palatine Germans flooded into Lower Mohawk country. Most of these newcomers lived peacefully with their Mohawk neighbors. A few, like the earlier mentioned Kayaderosseras Patentees, tried to defraud Mohawks out of vast tracts containing hundreds of thousands of acres.

Despite these problems, many Indian people living in Mohawk country came to enjoy a measure of peace and prosperity during these years. Churchmen and traders brought new tools, skills, and ideas to Mohawk country communities. Missionaries translated the Bible

into Mohawk and taught congregants to read and write in the language. Mohawk and other Indian people learned how to use plows and patronized mills and forges built in their towns. Missionaries also supplied goods to their adherents and advised congregants on a wide range of topics.

Fur traders also settled among them. Some, like German immigrant Conrad Weiser and the Irish settler William Johnson, learned the Mohawk language and gained influence in their councils. These and other Mohawk Valley settlers worked with Mohawk trappers to push the fur trade deeper into the interior. As diplomacy followed trade, Johnson, Weiser, and other frontier entrepreneurs achieved new importance as forest diplomats.

Forest diplomacy became more critical as Europeans increasingly pressed into and around the Iroquois heartland. Construction of a new British post at the mouth of the Oswego River on Lake Ontario in 1722 enabled western traders to bypass Lower Iroquois towns. French and British authorities soon constructed other posts to the north and west of the Iroquois heartland. Farther south, thousands of settlers surged along the southern frontiers of Mohawk territory from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna Valley. The outbreak of a new war between France and Great Britain in 1744, known as King George's War, further increased tensions in Mohawk communities in New York and Canada.

The total population of the Mohawk towns in New York dwindled slowly from 1,000 to little more than 400 by the time King George's War ended in 1748. Population in the Munsee and Mahican River Indian communities along the Schoharie River also dwindled during these years. Several factors account for this decline. As earlier, many people in Mohawk country were killed by epidemics. Others moved to join family and friends already living in Canada at Caughnawaga or the St. Regis settlement built farther west on the banks of the St. Lawrence. More than a few moved among Delawares, Mahicans, and other displaced Coastal Algonquians at the burgeoning Susquehanna Valley communities of Oquaga, Tioga, Otsiningo, and Unadilla.

Many Mohawk Valley Indian people supported the British in their final war with France between 1754 and 1760. William Johnson, who lived with the prominent Mohawk woman leader Molly Brant and who had been knighted baronet and appointed Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the northern colonies for his service during the fighting, did what he could to keep the Mohawks in the British interest. Johnson's account books indicate that Mohawk people and other Indian people living in their country serving with the British as soldiers, scouts, and laborers were amply and quickly paid. Fort Hendrick, named after the prominent Mohawk leader killed at the Battle of Lake George in 1755, was built near site of his family home at the Upper Castle to secure the area from French attack.

Many River Indians forced from their Hudson Valley lands were resettled by Johnson at Schoharie during the war. Although some stayed, Johnson was unable to prevent most of these people from either returning to their Hudson Valley homes or moving farther

westward when the fighting stopped in 1760. Neither Johnson nor other New York authorities owning large tracts of land in Mohawk country stopped thousands of colonists from settling at Schoharie, the Upper Castle, and elsewhere along the Mohawk Valley after the conflict ended. Forced to sell nearly all their lands, most Indian people living in Mohawk country owned little more than the ground under their towns by the time war broke out between colonists and the Crown in 1775.

Despite these problems, many Mohawks continued to prosper during the years between the Seven Years and Revolutionary Wars. Many Mohawks found employment in the carrying trade as bateau men transporting goods up and down the Mohawk River. Others produced clothing, ornaments, and other items for use in the Indian trade. Luxury items such as stemmed glasswares, fine porcelain, leaded glass, and other objects excavated at the site of the Brant homestead at Upper Castle show that the Brants and other close associates of Superintendent Johnson benefitted from British patronage. Written records reveal that the young Joseph Brant, brother of Johnson's Indian consort Molly, grew up in an affluent household. Educated in Eleazar Wheelock's Indian school, he later became Johnson's protege. Other deposits recently found at what is believed to be the site of Mohawk leader John Deserontyon's home lend further support to documentary evidence indicating that many Mohawk people had a higher standard of living than most of their non-Indian neighbors during the years following the end of the Seven Years War. As mentioned earlier, David Guldenzopf's assessment of archival and artifactual evidence suggests that British clients like the Brant family and younger war leaders gained growing wealth and power as traditional Iroquois Confederacy sachems grew poorer and less influential.

Led by the Brants and other British partisans, most Mohawks continued to support their old Covenant Chain allies when war again broke out in 1775. Outnumbered by nearby settlers supporting the rebel cause, many of these Mohawk Loyalists fled to Canada by 1778. Those attempting to remain neutral, like the Fort Hunter leader Tigoransera, known to colonists as "Little Abraham," were badly treated by both sides. Only four families were living at the Lower Castle when American troops, who had plundered the Mohawk towns in 1777, finally burned the Upper Castle to the ground in 1779. At the Lower Castle, settlers soon moved into the houses of Mohawks taking refuge among the British. Infuriated by the destruction or appropriation of their homes, Mohawk warriors relentlessly raided American frontier settlements until the war ended in 1783.

Virtually all Mohawk Valley people were living around Fort Niagara or in Canada when the war ended. Regarded with hostility and suspicion by their neighbors, most of the few Mohawks returning to their Valley in the years following the end of the war ultimately moved away permanently. Border adjustments negotiated with the British during the 1790s subsequently brought the portion of the St. Regis mission community south of the 45th parallel within territorial limits claimed by the United States. Today, this settlement remains the only clearly documented continuously occupied Mohawk community within the United States.

Sources

A wide range of sources document Indian life in Mohawk country. Many Mohawk Valley sites have been located and analyzed by professional archeologists and dedicated avocationalists like Donald Lenig and Donald Rumrill (Rumrill 1985; 1991; 1992b). Incorporating existing sources with findings from new field research, State University of New York at Albany Mohawk Drainage Survey director Dean R. Snow has compiled a complete site inventory for the area (MDSI; Snow 1991a).

The most complete Mohawk site report thus far published, the Jackson-Everson site study edited by Robert D. Kuhn and Dean R. Snow, is one of a series of research monographs detailing findings based on materials in MDSI files (Kuhn and Snow 1986). Site reports have also been written for excavations undertaken at Caughnawaga (Grassman 1952), Fort Hunter (Huey 1989), Garoga (W. Ritchie and Funk 1973) and the Upper Castle (Guldenzopf 1986). Other important archeological studies have been published by Robert D. Kuhn (1985) and William A. Starna (Snow and Starna 1989).

Key studies based on written documentation include the recent retranslation of a 1634-1635 journal attributed to Fort Orange surgeon Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert (Gehring and Starna 1988) and more general surveys of Mohawk history in Carse (1949) and Fenton and Tooker (1978). Starna (1980) revises pre- and post-epidemic Mohawk population estimates. Studies documenting the visit of the Four Indian Kings to Great Britain in 1710 are presented in Bond (1952) and Garratt and Robertson (1985). The history of Anglican missionary efforts in Mohawk country is presented in Lydekker (1938). Guldenzopf's study of Mohawk social relations (Guldenzopf 1986) and biographies of Joseph Brant (Kelsay 1984), John Deserontyon (Torok 1965), Sir William Johnson (Hamilton 1976), and Conrad Weiser (P.A.W. Wallace 1945) also contain important information.

Mohawk Drainage Survey Inventory dates are used to organize the archeological property list presented below. Sources listed for each property indicate locations of pertinent information and do not necessarily reflect MDSI date ranges.

Site Name	Location	Date	NR Cond	Source
		Major or Intensively Tested Sites		
Wormuth	Palatine, NY	1300-1500		MDSI; Rumrill 1992a
Otstungo	Minden, NY	1500-1550		MacNeish 1952; MDSI
Cayadutta	Johnstown, NY	1550-1609		MacNeish 1952; MDSI
Klock	Ephratah, NY	1550-1575		MDSI; W. Ritchie & Funk 1973
Garoga	Ephratah, NY	1550-1575		MacNeish 1952; MDSI; W. Ritchie & Funk 1973
Ganada	St. Johnsville, NY	1575-1609		MDSI
Smith-Pagerie	Ephratah, NY	1575-1609		Engelbrecht 1971; Funk 1973; MDSI; W. Ritchie & Funk 1973

Barker	Mohawk, NY	1595-1615			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Galligan No. 2	Mohawk, NY	1500s-1700s			MDSI; Rumrill 1992a
Chapin/Wemple	Mohawk, NY	1609-1624			MDSI
Martin	Mohawk, NY	1609-1624			Engelbrecht 1971; MacNeish 1952; MDSI
Wagner's Hollow/Fox	Palatine, NY	1609-1624			Engelbrecht 1971; MacNeish 1952; MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Kilts	Palatine, NY	1609-1624 (?)			MDSI
Rice's Woods	Palatine, NY	1609-1624	X	dist	MacNeish 1952; MDSI; Rumrill 1985
England's Woods	Palatine, NY	1609-1624			MDSI
Coleman-Van Deusen	Mohawk, NY	1609-1624			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Briggs Run	Mohawk, NY	1609-1624			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Ford	Root, NY	1610-1625			Rumrill 1985
Swart-Farley	Canajoharie, NY	1610-1630			Snow 1991a
Yates	Root, NY	1624-1635		dest	MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Bauder	Root, NY	1624-1635			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Cromwell	Glen, NY	1624-1635			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Rumrill-Naylor	Root, NY	1624-1635			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Sand Hill No. 1	Minden, NY	1624-1635		dest	MDSI
Failing	Minden, NY	1624-1635		dest	MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Brown	Canajoharie, NY	1624-1635			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Fisk	Canajoharie, NY	1624-1635			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Fort Orange	Albany Co, NY	1624-1776			Huey 1988; Pena 1990
Van Evera-McKinney	Root, NY	1635-1655			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Sand Hill	Minden, NY	1635-1655		dest	MDSI
Milton Smith	Glen, NY	1640-1660			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Oak Hill No. 1	Minden, NY	1635-1655			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Crouse/Klemme	Minden, NY	1635-1655			MDSI
Printup	Glen, NY	1655-1666			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Freeman	Root, NY	1655-1666		dest	MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Mitchell	Root, NY	1655-1666			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Horatio Nellis	Canajoharie, NY	1655-1666			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Fort Plain Cemetery	Fort Plain, NY	1650-1666			Rumrill 1985
Allen	Canajoharie, NY	1655-1666			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Fox Farm	Mohawk, NY	1666-1683		dest	MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Schenck	Palatine, NY	1666-1683			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
White Orchard/ Gerstenberger	Palatine, NY	1666-1683			MDSI
Jackson-Everson/ Nellis	St. Johnsville, NY	1666-1683			Kuhn & Snow 1986; MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Caughnawaga	Mohawk, NY	1683-1693	X		Grassman 1952; McCashion 1979; MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Lipe No. 2	Palatine, NY	1683-1693			MDSI

Milton Smith	Glen, NY	1693-1712			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Auriesville Nos. 1 & 3	Glen, NY	1693-1712			MDSI; Snow 1991c
Allen	Canajoharie, NY	1693-1712			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Sand Hill No. 1	Minden, NY	1693-1712		dest	MDSI
Schuyler Flatts	Colonie, NY	1696	X		Huey 1985
Gravel Ridge	Florida, NY	1712-1755			MDSI
Bohringer	Fulton, NY	1712-1755			MDSI
Prospect Hill/Fort Plain Cemetery	Fort Plain, NY	1712-1755			MDSI
Enders House/ Fort Hunter	Fort Hunter, NY	1755-1776			Huey 1989; MDSI
Upper Castle	Indian Castle, NY	1755-1776			Guldenzopf 1986; MDSI

Small or Unevaluated Sites

Saltsman	Mohawk, NY	1500-1550 (?)			MDSI; Snow 1991a
Cairns	Oppenheim, NY	1500-1550			MDSI
Crum Creek	Oppenheim, NY	1575-1590			Rumrill 1991
Bellinger	Oppenheim, NY	1575-1590			Rumrill 1991
Dewandalaer	Palatine, NY	1595-1610			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Katydid	St. Johnsville, NY	1620-1640			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Janie	Root, NY	1640-1660			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Turtle Pond	Mohawk, NY	1666-1680			MDSI; Rumrill 1985
Tribes Hill	Fonda, NY	1694-1712			Rumrill 1985
Christman	Palatine, NY	1600s			MDSI
Fort Herkimer Church No. 2	German Flatts, NY	1600s			MDSI
Kassen	Glen, NY	1600s		dest	MDSI
Mattice	Schoharie, NY	1600s			MDSI
Palatine Bridge	Palatine, NY	1600s			MDSI
Perryville	Mohawk, NY	1600s			MDSI
Rinehart Flats No. 3	Canajoharie, NY	1600s			MDSI
Timmerman No. 1	St. Johnsville, NY	1600s			MDSI
1117	Mohawk, NY	1600s			MDSI
1234	Root, NY	1600s			MDSI
1580	Amsterdam, NY	1600s			MDSI
Baker Farm	Canajoharie, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Bushy Hill	Florida, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Dekanck No. 3	German Flatts, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Digristina No. 2	German Flatts, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Ganada No. 1	St. Johnsville, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Mud Bridge	Mohawk, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Sand Hill No. 1	Mohawk, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Stone Heap	Esperance, NY	mid 1700s			MDSI
Tehondaloga	Glen, NY	mid-1700s			MDSI
Wemp	Florida, NY	mid-1700s			MDSI

ONEIDA COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Little is directly known about the identities or affiliations of the 16th-century inhabitants of Oneida country. Most known evidence is fragmentary or inconclusive. Settlement pattern analyses and ceramic studies conducted by Peter P. Pratt, William Engelbrecht, and other professional archeologists and avocationalists such as New York State Archaeological Association Chenango Chapter founder Theodore Whitney and chapter members Monte R. Bennett, the late Herman Weiskotten Jr., and his son Daniel, indicate that the historically chronicled inhabitants of Oneida country probably share common ancestry with neighboring people from Onondaga or Mohawk country (M. Bennett 1973, 1981, and 1983; Engelbrecht 1971; P. Pratt 1976; Weiskotten 1988; Whitney 1964 and 1967).

Identifying continuities in known archeological assemblages, Pratt suggested that all three nations developed **in situ** within their historically chronicled homelands (P. Pratt 1976). Contrasting pottery found in late prehistoric deposits in Onondaga and Oneida country, Weiskotten proposed that the historic Oneidas may have come to their historic homeland from a more westerly locale near historic Onondaga country just south of Cazenovia Lake (Weiskotten 1988). Investigators finding similar ceramic assemblages in both places have further shown that all but two sites containing assemblages associated with Oneida people dating from late prehistoric to protohistoric times tightly cluster within a small area southeast of Oneida Lake to the east of Oneida Creek. Sites associated with contemporary Onondaga people, by contrast, are located farther west within the heart of their historic territories.

Linguistic evidence suggests still another scenario. Oneida and Mohawk are the most closely related of all known Northern Iroquoian languages. This similarity suggests that the historic Oneidas originally may have been Mohawk Valley people who moved upriver towards Onondaga country sometime before Europeans first came to the region (Snow 1991c).

Archeological data corroborate written records and oral traditions attesting to the fact that most people living in Oneida country during the 16th-century made their homes in a single large fortified town. Archeological remains of two small camps associated with these townsfolk have been located between Oneida Lake and the strategic upper Mohawk River carrying place linking the Hudson River drainage with the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence watershed at Rome, New York. Like their contemporaries elsewhere in the region, 16th-century Oneida country townsfolk tended to move their settlements to new locales every ten to 20 years during times of peace. More frequent moves evidently occurred during periods of wartime. Writing during the first decades of the 17th-century, Champlain reported that although people in this region generally moved to new towns located from two to four leagues away from their former abodes, relocations to new townsites situated from 40 to 50 leagues away often were undertaken during time of war.

As mentioned earlier, statistical frequency computations suggest that rates of homogeneity in ceramics found in Oneida country sites decreased over time. Increasing numbers of pots associated with people living elsewhere in Iroquoia found within Oneida country site deposits indicate intensifying relations between these people and provide intimations of 16th-century protohistoric Iroquois Confederacy development (P. Pratt 1976; Engelbrecht 1985). Several sherds described as St. Lawrence Iroquoian wares also have been identified in a number of Oneida country locales dating to protohistoric times. Only one of these, a single sherd found by Richard Hosbach, thus far has been definitively identified as a corn-ear decorated ware clearly associated with St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramic traditions (Pendergast 1992b).

Six townsites containing 16th-century deposits revealing evidence of contact between Indian people and Europeans have been identified in Oneida country. Discovery of a large iron knife and small numbers of brass beads and buttons with aboriginal ceramics and lithics at the mid 16th-century Vaillancourt site represents the earliest site of it type in the area. Larger assemblages of brass and iron artifacts, including a sword blade, have been found in deposits dating to the middle to late decades of the 16th-century at the Diable and Cameron sites. First appearing in small numbers at Diable, larger numbers of glass beads dating from the mid to late 1500s occur in Cameron deposits.

Analyses of site preferences revealed by these deposits show that, like contemporary people living in what later came to be called Iroquoia, 16th-century inhabitants of Oneida country generally preferred to locate communities atop high defensible bluffs. Relatively little is known about the site plans of these settlements. Postmolds believed to represent sections of palisade wall have been discovered at the Bach and Diable sites. Bach site deposits in particular have been found to contain remains of at least nine longhouses. Excavations of one of these houseplans revealed remains of structure 65 feet long and 18 feet wide (Whitney 1967). Bach site fortifications, deposit densities, and unprecedentedly small site area size mirror similar developments in other parts of the region. Thought to represent responses to intensifying conflict and changes in social relations, many archeologists believe that these data materially corroborate other evidence suggesting that the Iroquois Confederacy first assumed its historically chronicled configuration sometime during the 1500s.

The Seventeenth Century

The Oneida people first emerged in European records as a distinctly identifiable nation during the 1630s. Calling themselves "people of the erect or upright stone," their traditions affirm that the name refers to a large boulder believed to always providentially appear near their main town as they moved it from one location to another.

Glass beads, clay tobacco pipe bowls and stems, and other diagnostic artifacts dating to the first decades of 17th-century have been found with aboriginally produced ceramics, triangular chipped stone projectile points, and other Late Woodland artifacts in pits, hearths, and other

deposits within remains of townsites at the Blowers and Wilson sites. These findings reveal patterns of continuity and change observed in like assemblages in similar contexts in sites throughout Mohawk and Onondaga country. Such findings suggest that most people living in these towns responded in similar ways to challenges posed by direct contact with colonists moving to the northern, eastern, and southern reaches of the region during the early 1600s.

Findings made at the Blowers site, formerly known as the Beecher site, clearly reflect these patterns of continuity and change. Believed to have been occupied sometime between 1595 and 1625, limited excavations conducted at the site have revealed evidence suggesting the presence of a compact densely settled fortified town. Although large numbers of aboriginal ceramics and lithics have been found at the site, fully half of all triangular projectile points found there are cut from copper or brass sheets and kettles. Some pieces of stoneware and other pottery of European origin also have been found in site deposits.

The small group of graves found just beyond the town's walls represents another first. Unlike earlier mortuary patterns comprising single graves or small group interments in and around village areas, graves found at Blowers represent the earliest known cemetery in Oneida country. Local avocationalists discovering this cemetery believe that its appearance constitutes the first evidence of intensifying patterns of conflict, disease, and malnutrition associated with the first years of historically chronicled direct contact between colonists and Indian people in Oneida country.

Variously identified as an Onondaga or Oneida town, local enthusiasts have long thought that either the Nichols Pond or Blowers site contains the remains of the Entouhonoron fortress attacked by Indians accompanied by Samuel de Champlain during the Fall of 1615. An evidently fanciful conventionalized engraving depicting their attack shows a town containing 81 longhouses regularly laid out into neatly arranged groups of houses surrounded by a six-sided multiple palisade wall. Showing that Nichols Pond predates Champlain's attack by nearly a century, archeologist Peter Pratt believes that the Entouhonoron fortress most likely was located at the foot of Onondaga Lake (P.Pratt 1992).

The most complete account of a 17th-century Oneida town appears in the description of Onneyuttehage appeared in a journal recording a Dutch visit to Mohawk and Oneida country during the winter of 1634-1635 attributed to Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert. Identifying the Oneidas as Sinnekens, the diarist found that their town consisted of 66 houses enclosed within double-palisaded walls measuring "767 steps in circumference" on a high hill overlooking Oneida Creek (Gehring and Starna 1988). Walking around the town walls, the chronicler further found that Onneyuttehage's inhabitants protected the graves of kinsfolk by surrounding individual interments with small stockades.

Archeologists unearthing a range of aboriginal and European materials dating to the 1620s and 1630s at the Thurston site have discovered evidence of a gate and a double-palisade wall matching Van den Bogaert's description. Two cemeteries and a single longhouse also have

been found. Among the many objects recovered from town deposits are some of the earliest known examples of shell birds, crescents, and discs, brass kettles, European clay smoking pipes, a blue bead, Jesuit finger rings, and lead shot found in Oneida country.

Archeological evidence found at the slightly later four and one half acre Marshall site located one mile south of Thurston suggests indicates that many of Onnetuttehage's inhabitants may have moved to this locale sometime around 1637. Surface finds made at this site indicate that it may have been the locale of Ononjote town. Unlike earlier sites, where graves contain the largest percentage of European objects, most aboriginal stone tools and pottery unearthed at Marshall have been found within graves of older people buried in the town cemeteries. Although Oneida people continued to place mirrors, glass beads, and metal ornaments in graves, most materials of European origin unearthed at Marshall consist of utilitarian objects found within domestic contexts.

Several factors may account for these findings. Jesuit sources report that much of Ononjote's male population, including the Oneida war captain Ononkwaia, was captured and killed by Huron and Algonquin warriors shortly after the town was built. While the presence of domestically produced tools and implements in graves may suggest the increasing ceremonial role of formerly utilitarian objects or indicate that only elders continued to make and use traditional tools, the predominance of graves of older people at the site also may reflect the loss of much of the town's younger adult male population in 1638.

Although many Oneida widows soon rebuilt their shattered families by marrying Mohawk men, the smaller size of their subsequent towns at the Stone Quarry and Dungey sites indicates that Oneida people were not able to completely make up for their losses after abandoning the Marshall site in 1640. Despite these changes, Oneidas continued to live in a single fortified town up until 1680.

Deposits found at the Sullivan (also known as the Moot site), Upper Hogan (also known as the Cody site), and other late 17th-century sites show that European goods and materials ultimately came to almost wholly supplant aboriginal manufactures during these years. This period was a time of intense change for most Iroquois people. Wars with the Eries, Susquehannocks, Mahicans, Indians from New France, and French had cost hundreds of lives. Disease killed uncounted others. The number of Oneida people emigrating elsewhere also reduced total Oneida population during this period. Many Oneida Catholic converts, for example, left Iroquois country for New France following the Jesuit expulsion in 1683. Others may have starting moving south to Susquehanna country sometime thereafter.

Most Oneidas supported their English allies against the French during King William's War between 1689 and 1697. Although few Oneida people were killed by French troops invading their country and destroying their towns in 1696, devastation left in the wake of the retreating French army brought hardship and poverty to many of their families. Distressed

by these and other losses, and outraged by their exclusion from treaty protocols ending the war between the European combatants in 1697, most Oneidas called for an end to the fighting. Pressing their case at Confederacy councils in Onondaga, Oneida diplomats played a major role in negotiations leading up to the signing of the French-Iroquois peace accord of 1701.

Archeological evidence indicates that Oneida people relocated their townsites on an average of once every 11 years during these years. Documentary sources suggest that the population of these towns was never very large. Contemporary written estimates indicate that little more than 1,000 people lived in Oneida country during the early 1600s. More recent analyses suggest figures in excess of two or three times this figure (Starna 1988). Whatever the actual amount, subsequent wars, diseases, and migrations more than this population down to fewer than 500 by the end of the century. Oneida people married some foreigners and adopted others to replenish losses. Writing in 1668, Jesuit chroniclers noted that Huron and other adopted Indian captives made up more than two thirds of the total Oneida population. Although many adoptees chose to spend their lives in Oneida country, others evidently forced into lives of servitude may have left when opportunities presented themselves. Although records are incomplete, large numbers of adoptees probably were among the many Oneida proselytes following their priests to New France between 1667 and 1683. Others probably constituted a major portion of the population moving to Oneida towns established in multi-cultural communities at Oquaga and other locales to the south of the Oneida heartland along the upper Susquehanna River valley during the last decades of the 17th-century.

The Eighteenth Century

Although Oneida diplomats and diplomacy figure prominently in 18th-century European records, relatively little is known about their social life or customs during the period. Like Mohawks to the east, the Oneida way of life had changed considerably during the preceding century. Documentary records and archeological evidence show that all people living in Oneida country had moved from walled towns to more dispersed unfortified communities. These sources also reveal that most of these people adapted European tools and clothing to their own purposes. Most also increasingly learned to master new production techniques as the century wore on. Many Oneida country people came to accept new concepts like Christianity and market commoditization. And, like their neighbors, all people living in Oneida country had to adjust to the effects of war, disease, and depopulation.

Many Oneidas responded to these changes by developing closer ties with their neighbors. Relations with nearby Onondagas became particularly close. Like the Onondagas, many Oneida people had strong economic, social, and political contacts with the French and their Indians allies. Oneidas frequently traveled to French markets following reestablishment of peace in 1701. French missionaries and administrators, for their part, worked hard to bring Oneidas and their neighbors within the French sphere of influence. Living near Lake

Ontario, often sympathetic to French overtures, and aware that their communities lay open to French assault, many Oneida and Onondaga people publicly expressed strong pro-French sentiments in 18th-century councils.

Other Oneidas remained loyal to their British Covenant Chain allies. Unlike the Mohawks, most Oneida people and their more westerly Cayuga and Seneca confederates resisted British attempts to established forts near their principal towns. Forts located farther from their towns were another thing, however. Many Oneidas anxious to gain access to a convenient strategically located market-place welcomed the erection of the British post at Fort Oswego in 1722. Playing contending imperial powers and rival interest groups off against one another, Oneida leaders regarded the post as a necessary evil needed to limit French influence. Others saw the post as a bulwark protecting their towns against potential attacks launched from the nearby French bastion at Fort Frontenac built at the head of the St. Lawrence during the late 1670s.

Oneidas claiming sovereignty over Upper Susquehanna Valley lands following the Susquehannock dispersion after 1675 moved in increasing numbers to new towns at Oquaga, Otsiningo, and other locales during the early decades of the 18th-century. Joined by Mohawks unwilling to live near their new German neighbors, dispossessed Delawares, Munsees, Mahicans, and other Eastern Algonquians, and Tuscarora refugees fleeing north away from hostile North Carolinians during the years following the end of the Tuscarora War in 1713, most of these communities became cosmopolitan multi-cultural centers. Although all people living in these communities formally maintained neutrality during these years, most of the Valley's inhabitants tended to favor British interests throughout much of the century.

Farther south, Oneida overseers administered affairs of other dispossessed Indian people relocated by Iroquois Confederacy chiefs at Wyoming, Shamokin, and other Susquehanna Valley towns. The most famous of these chiefs, the adopted French captive Shikellamy sent to oversee the Susquehanna Shawnees, played a particularly prominent role in frontier diplomacy during the middle years of the century.

The course of frontier diplomacy in Oneida country grew increasingly tortuous as the century wore on. Oneida people walked a thin line between peace and war as France and Great Britain struggled for control of the continent. Many pro-French Oneidas joined similarly inclined Onondagas and Cayugas at the French post at Oswegatchie established by Sulpician missionaries just north of the Iroquois heartland on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River in 1748. Others traveled back and forth from homes in Oneida country to Montreal and other Canadian settlements during these years.

Although many Oneidas supported the French when the final war with Great Britain finally broke out in 1755, French defeat in 1760 forced pro-French Iroquois to reassess their political positions. Some threw their support behind Western nations trying to drive the British from their country during Pontiac's War in 1763. Their defeat forced most Iroquois

people to accept British hegemony. Feeling the need to cultivate powerful British clients, many older Oneida chiefs openly threw their support behind Sir William Johnson during these years. Pressed by Johnson to establish a post in their territory, the chiefs finally allowed the British to build Fort Stanwix at the strategic carrying place between the Mohawk and Oswego Rivers in 1768.

Many younger Oneida men were angered by this decision. More than a few resented the presence of such a post in their territory. Others, working like Mohawks as bateau men carrying goods from Oswego to Mohawk country, feared the loss of their jobs to settlers. Reluctant to follow their elders and anxious to assert themselves, many of these men supported Samuel Kirkland, the outspoken young "New Light" Presbyterian minister who settled among them in 1767. Kirkland was a product of the "Great Awakening." Rejecting spiritual values and social traditions endorsed and sustained by the British establishment, Kirkland and his contemporaries became strident voices for rebellion and independence. Working closely with many Oneida people, Kirkland supplied provisions, established a school, and trained and employed young converts. By cultivating Oneida support and attracting a large following, Kirkland was able to convince many Oneidas to throw in with rebellious colonists when war broke out in 1775.

Pro-American Oneidas played a major role in preventing the Iroquois Confederacy from declaring for Britain. Unable to achieve consensus, the League covered its council fire and advised its constituents to go their own ways in 1777. Later that year, Oneida warriors fought alongside Mohawk Valley militia against British troops and their Iroquois allies at Oriskany. Today, some Oneidas recall traditions stating that their ancestors provided provisions for Washington's army during the following winter.

Not all people from Oneida country supported the colonists. Many Oneidas living at Oquaga, for example, remained loyal to Britain. Joseph Brant and other British Indian rangers used Oquaga and other Susquehanna towns as staging areas for raids against the American frontier. Such raids devastated back settlements from Pennsylvania to New York before American troops burned Oquaga and all other Susquehanna Indian towns between 1778 and 1779.

Most Oneida families burned out of their Susquehanna Valley homes fled to Fort Niagara. Warriors belonging to many of these families subsequently joined Iroquois war parties avenging the devastation of the whole of the Iroquois heartland by American armies under the overall command of Major General John Sullivan and James Clinton in 1779. Angered by the participation of pro-American Oneidas in these expeditions, Iroquois and Tory raiders marching on Oneida country during the fall of 1780 burned the principal Oneida towns. Many people driven from their homes by the raiders were compelled to accompany them back to Niagara. Some of these refugees settled in the Genesee Valley near Geneseo for the duration of the war. Other Oneida people took refuge in rebel settlements farther east around Schenectady. Living in refugee camps and often short of provisions, most Oneida

people forced from their homes lived under difficult conditions throughout the remaining years of the war.

Many Oneidas moved north into Canada following the end of the war. Pro-American Oneidas returned to their country and rebuilt their homes. Encouraging Stockbridge, Brothertown, and other Indian refugees to settle in their country, most Oneidas remained on their lands until American authorities convinced many of them to move west beyond the Appalachians during the first decades of the 1800s. Now a scattered people, most Oneidas today live in communities located in New York, Ontario, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma.

Relatively little is known about the archeology of Indian life in 18th-century Oneida country. Although many deposits dating to the period have been found in the area, similarities between Indian and European assemblages make it difficult to confidently associate particular sites with identifiable occupants. Only sites containing post mold patterns, Indian trade goods dating to the 1700s, or burials containing remains of Indian individuals can be confidently be associated with native people. Few such locales thus far have been found in Oneida country.

The best known of these locales, the Lanz-Hogan site, is a large dispersed community of small cabins and longhouses covering an area of at least 20 acres. Concentrations of European artifacts characterize much of the occupational evidence found here. Although Indian goods, such as bone combs, clay pipes, trade axes, glass beads, and other distinctive tools or ornaments testify to Indian occupation at this locale.

Other evidence of 18th-century Indian occupation in Oneida country has been found at Prime's Hill, Sterling, Oneida Castle, and Fishing Place. Prime's Hill was the site of the major Oneida town after people living at Lanz-Hogan abandoned the place sometime around 1720. Surface finds found at the documented locations of Oneida towns at the Sterling and Oneida Castle sites also indicate that systematic excavations at both locales may yet reveal intact deposits. Thinly scattered deposits of refuse found at Fishing Place on the banks of Oneida Lake indicate that it represents the remains of an important Oneida fishing camp.

Sources

The most extensive general synthesis of Oneida archeology appears in P. Pratt (1976). A brief report summarizes and updates these findings (P. Pratt 1991). Studies by William Engelbrecht (1971, 1974, and 1985) and James W. Bradley (1987a) also contain important information. Other vital data are contained in site reports written by Monte Bennett (1979, 1981, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1988, 1991), Theodore Whitney (1964, 1967, and 1970), and other members of the Chenango Chapter of the New York Archaeological Association.

Many aspects of Oneida history are extensively documented in European records. Much of this material is compiled in Leder (1956), O'Callaghan and Fernow (1853-1887), and Thwaites (1896-1901). A general ethnohistoric overview is provided by Campisi (1978). Other information largely focusing upon later phases of Oneida history appears in Campisi and Hauptman (1988). Other information may be found in articles published in Jennings, et al. (1985) and Richter and Merrell (1987).

Inventoried archeological properties located in Oneida Country dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Vaillancourt	Madison Co, NY	1550-1575			P. Pratt 1976
Bach	Peterboro, NY	1540-1555			Whitney 1967
Diable	Stockbridge Falls, NY	1555-1570			Engelbrecht 1985; P. Pratt 1976
Cameron	Sherrill, NY	1570-1595			M. Bennett 1981, 1983; M. Bennett & Bigford 1968; M. Bennett & Clark 1978; M. Bennett & Hatton 1988
Wilson	Valley Mills, NY	1595-1625			M. Bennett 1983; Hosbach & Gibson 1980
Blowers	Valley Mills, NY	1595-1625			P. Pratt 1976; M. Bennett 1979, 1983, 1984a, 1991a
Thurston	Stockbridge Falls, NY	1625-1637			M. Bennett 1983, 1984a, 1991a; McCashion 1991; Whitney 1964
Marshall	Stockbridge Falls, NY	1637-1640			M. Bennett 1983, 1984a; M. Bennett & Cole 1976; McCashion 1991
Stone Quarry	Munnsville, NY	1640-1650			M. Bennett 1983, 1984b; McCashion 1991
Dungey	Munnsville, NY	1650-1660			M. Bennett 1983; McCashion 1991
Sullivan/Moot	Valley Mills, NY	1660-1677			M. Bennett 1983, 1984a; McCashion 1991
March	Valley Mills, NY	1660-1677(?)			M. Bennett 1991b
Collins	Sherrill, NY	1677-1685(?)			M. Bennett 1991b
Upper Hogan/Cody	Sherrill, NY	1677-1685			Clark & Owen 1976; M. Bennett 1983, 1984a; M. Bennett & Cole 1974; McCashion 1991
Fishing Station	Oneida Co, NY	1687-1778			HAS
Prime's Hill	Munnsville, NY	1696-1720			M. Bennett 1988; HAS; McCashion 1991; Snow 1990
Lanz-Hogan	Sherrill, NY	1720-1750			M. Bennett 1982, 1983
Sterling	Oneida, NY	1750-1767			M. Bennett 1991b
Oneida Castle	Oneida, NY	1767-1779			M. Bennett 1991b
Brothertown	Marshall, NY	late 1700s			MDSI
Oriskany Battlefield NHL	Oneida Co, NY	1777	X		NPS 1987

ONONDAGA COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

The 16th-century inhabitants of Onondaga country built their towns in a small hilly area situated away from major water routes along the Pompey Hills above Limestone and Butternut creeks between Onondaga Creek and Cazenovia Lake. Like their nearby neighbors in Oneida country to the east, the way of life followed by these people evidently developed **in situ** from earlier Chance phase traditions. During the 16th-century, most inhabitants of Onondaga country made their homes in a large elaborately fortified town. Like many other Iroquoians, people living in this town changed it location every ten to 20 years. Serving as the principal Onondaga town, this locale also was the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy. The below listed Temperance House, Quirk, and Chase sites, each encompassing areas measuring from four to five acres in extent, probably represent successive relocations of this town.

Discoveries of smaller sites like Dwyer and Sheldon near major towns indicate that some of the area's 16th-century inhabitants chose to live in small outlying hamlets beyond the walls of the main town. Many of these settlements may themselves have been small fortified towns varying from two to three acres in size. Brewerton, a small site containing Onondaga series ceramics located far from the heart of Onondaga country on the shores of Oneida Lake, probably represents the locale of an important fishing and trading place.

Information drawn from surface finds and buried features like storage pits, hearths, and middens at the Temperance House, Quirk, and other sites has shed light on numerous aspects of technological development, economic activity, and social life in Onondaga country during the 1500s. Regrettably, relatively little presently is known about town plans or residence composition of known 16th-century communities in the area. Largely studied by local avocationalists rarely having access to resources available to professional researchers, few Onondaga country sites have been subjected to wide-area excavations needed to fully reveal individual house patterns or larger-scale town plans. Working in smaller excavation units, investigators have succeeded in delineating portions of palisade wall in nearly all known protohistoric communities in Onondaga country. Excavation of a single longhouse at the Temperance House site represents the only known discovery of an verifiable 16th-century house pattern in the area.

Evidence suggesting changes in several earlier patterns may be observed in the area's known 16th-century archeological record. Initial discoveries of ceramics associated with more northerly Saint Lawrence Iroquoians in several deposits dating to the late 1500s, for example, suggests new forms of contact with these people (J. Bradley 1987a). Discoveries of marine shell beads and other objects, Schultz ceramics, and newly-introduced aboriginal artifacts or materials suggest intensifying exchange or warfare with people living farther south. Initial appearances of brass, copper, and iron hoops and spirals thought to come

from contact points with Europeans along Chesapeake Bay suggest other direct or indirect influences from the south.

Numbers of marine shell artifacts found in Onondaga country sites declined as the total volume of European goods brought into Onondaga communities increased during the final decades of the 1500s. Such artifacts ultimately disappeared entirely from Onondaga country site inventories as new forms of tubular cylindric wampum beads appeared in the region during the early 1600s.

As elsewhere, there is no evidence that these and other archeologically observable changes reflect radical transformations in Onondaga country life during protohistoric times. Although copper, brass, and iron began to replace some stone and shell objects, wholesale technological substitutions did not occur. As they would continue to do, the protohistoric inhabitants of Onondaga country evidently selectively adopted those aspects of foreign technology that best accorded with their lives and tastes and ignored or deemphasized everything else.

The Seventeenth Century

Archeological evidence confirms written documents and oral traditions stating that the Onondagas, "people of the great hill," continued to live in their fortified towns in central New York south and east of the modern City of Syracuse along the Pompey Hills above Limestone and Butternut creeks between Onondaga Creek and Cazenovia Lake at the center of the Iroquois heartland as French, Dutch, and English explorers probed the fringes of the Trans-Appalachian region during the early 17th-century. Investigations by amateur excavators and avocational collectors indicate that the Pompey Center, Pratt's Falls, Shurtleff, Carley, and Lot 18 sites represent successive relocations of the Onondaga capital during these years. Most of these sites are stockaded towns covering from three to five acres. As earlier, nearby smaller locales are thought to represent outlying hamlets or camp sites.

Although the Entouhonoron fortress attacked by Champlain in 1615 may have been an Onondaga town, Onondaga people themselves do not clearly emerge in European written histories until 1635. Meeting with Van den Bogaert and his compatriots visiting Oneida at that time, members of what is referred to as an Onnedagen delegation told the Dutchmen that their people were angered by unscrupulous Dutch traders and alienated by their high prices. Acknowledging that they were trading with French merchants offering better goods at cheaper prices, they said they would continue to travel to New France so long as Dutch authorities failed to establish conditions more conducive to trade at Fort Orange.

In 1654, French Jesuit priest Simon Le Moyne became the first European known to visit the Onondaga capital. One year later, fathers Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot and Claude Dablon established the small chapel of St. Jean Baptiste in the town. Onondaga people

subsequently allowed the Jesuits to establish a small fortified mission colony on the banks of Onondaga Lake during the summer of 1656. Named Ste. Marie Gannentaha, the mission endured for only two years. Although many Onondagas welcomed the establishment of a new trading mart near their town, more than a few Onondaga people were concerned by this extension of French influence. Worsening relations between the French and many members of the Iroquois Confederacy led the Onondagas to eject all Jesuits in 1658.

Inhabitants of Onondaga country experienced dramatic cultural and social changes during these years. Like other Iroquois people, the Onondagas were devastated by epidemic disease as wars with the Huron, French, and others exacted heavy tolls. Although Onondaga communities continued to maintain their self-sufficiency during these years, written and archeological sources show that many Onondaga people increasingly came to prefer metal-wares, firearms, and other European wares over their own domestic products as the century wore on.

Materials recovered from Indian Castle, the site of the Onondaga capital during the time of the short-lived French entree, tellingly reveal the extent of this shift. Although archeologists have recovered small numbers of bone or horn combs, clay pipes, native-made gunflints, and shell beads, runtees, effigies, and other ornaments, and a few poorly made nondescript variants of traditional Indian pottery from pits and burials, European metal, ceramic, and glasswares dominate site assemblages. Catlinite beads and ornaments also appear in Indian Castle site deposits. No stone axes, projectile points, or other stone tools are known from the site. The large number of native-worked copper and brass bracelets, and ear ornaments at Indian Castle testify to increasing Onondaga interest in metalwork.

Increased interest in European goods continued to be evident in site deposits found within Onondaga towns built later in the century. Site distributions also reveal changing Onondaga settlement patterns. Indian Hill, the site of the main Onondaga town when the Jesuits returned in 1667, was a larger and more diffuse town than its predecessors. A description penned by English traveller Wentworth Greenhalgh during his visit in 1677 failed to mention the stockade line discovered by archeologists at the site. Of great use during the height of the Iroquois wars with the Susquehannocks from 1663 to 1675, this stockade may have been dismantled by the time Greenhalgh visited the town. The smaller nearby Bloody Hill II site probably represents the town's outlying satellite community.

Deposits demarcating a large triple-palisaded town found at the Jamesville site probably represent remains of the site of the Iroquois capital between 1682 and 1700. Occupied during the turbulent years of the 1687 French invasion of western Iroquoia and King William's War (1689-1697), increasing numbers of English trade goods found in Jamesville site deposits reflect increasing the influence of their Covenant Chain ally. Small numbers of Jesuit rings found at the site also provide evidence of the continuing influence of French missionaries or Onondaga Indian converts at the town. Jesuits continued to enjoy the support of many Onondaga people even after Iroquois sachems decided to eject French

missionaries from their country in 1683. Initially unwilling split their community into pro and anti-Jesuit factions, the French raid on the Seneca's in 1687 finally compelled Onondaga leaders to evict all Jesuits from their territory. Numbers of Onondaga people joined the priests as they returned to New France.

Although many Onondagas continued to support the French when war once again broke out between the colonial powers in 1689, most Onondaga warriors ultimately joined their English allies in raids against France. Suffering serious losses in the fighting, the Onondagas were forced to burn their town and retreat in front of the large army led by governor Louis de Buade de Frontenac of New France that swept through Oneida and Onondaga country in 1696. Archeological deposits at Jamesville postdating this event show that some Onondagas probably briefly reoccupied the town shortly after Frontenac's army returned to New France. Far more extensive deposits found at the nearby Sevier site indicate that nearly all Onondagas subsequently moved to the locale by 1700.

The Eighteenth Century

Like other Iroquois people, the Onondagas were a divided people in 1700. Nearly half of their population supported their English Covenant Chain allies. The other half favored the French. Despite these divisions, nearly all Onondaga people continued to live together in their principal community at the Sevier and subsequent town sites throughout the first half of the 18th-century. A sprawling settlement stretching between Limestone and Butternut creeks, Sevier site deposits dating from 1700 to 1720 include antler combs, clay pipes, and catlinite, red slate, shell beads, glass beads, musket parts, and substantial amounts of European pottery, glassware, and metalware.

Archeological deposits found at the Onondaga Castle sites, Coye, and Ka-na-ta-go-go-wah corroborate European accounts recording Onondaga movement of their principal settlements to the adjoining Onondaga Creek drainage sometime after 1720. All but the Coye site contains the remains of large dispersed communities. Although house patterns have not yet been reported at any of these sites, discoveries of small depositional concentrations at various intervals corroborate written accounts describing Onondaga towns of the period as decentralized unplanned towns consisting of small individual farmsteads or hamlets consisting of longhouses or log cabins stretching across expanses of riverbank at various locales. Corn cribs, small barns, and other outbuildings also may have been constructed in some or all of these settlements. Collectively, the Jamesville and Onondaga Castle continued to serve as the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy throughout the 18th-century.

Few known archeological or written sources directly document domestic life in Onondaga communities during the early 1700s. Descriptions penned by Moravian missionary David Zeisberger and other Europeans visiting the Iroquois capital during the middle decades of the century provide more information on Onondaga life of the period. Particularly detailed observations of Onondaga communities are preserved in the journals of American troops

who destroyed them during Colonel Goose van Schaik's expedition against the Onondagas in 1779. One of four columns converging on Iroquoia that summer, Van Schaik's soldiers destroyed as many as 50 houses located along an eight to ten mile stretch of the Onondaga River.

All this was in the unforeseeable future when Onondaga diplomats assumed the major role in negotiating a lasting peace with the French at Montreal in 1701. Making peace with French while maintaining their English alliance, astute Onondaga diplomats like Teganissorens labored to use their newly won neutrality as a base from which to restore Iroquois political preeminence in the region. Accepting presents from French and British agents seeking trade concessions or military assistance, they then worked to play contending rivals off against one another. As Covenant Chain allies of the British, they allowed New York authorities to station an agent, interpreter, and blacksmith at their main town more or less continuously from the 1680s to the early 1760s. Permitting the French to build a post at the town in 1711, they then stood quietly by while British authorities, incensed by this advance into what they regarded as their sphere of influence, pulled the post down. A second French attempt to project French power into the Onondaga heartland in 1715 met with a similar response.

Upholding their end of the Covenant Chain, many Onondaga people secretly supported the British in their wars against France. Refusing to let Albany authorities openly flaunting British trade regulations forbidding trade with the French during Queen Anne's War (1703-1714) establish a post in their country, they subsequently allowed Crown authorities to construct their own post at Oswego to the north of Onondaga between 1722 and 1725. Strategically located athwart the strategic trade route joining the western country with coastal ports, Fort Oswego soon eclipsed Albany as the principal imperial British trade emporium in the northern colonies.

Neither the Onondagas nor the British were able to completely control Ottawas, Miamis, and other western tribes trading at Fort Oswego. Iroquois claims of control over the western tribes, and British assertions of dominion based upon Iroquois claims, were more symbolic than substantial. Such claims grew even more tenuous as French agents working among the Ohio tribes alienated by unscrupulous Virginian traders significantly undermined British influence in the region as both countries drifted towards another war during the 1740s.

Onondaga trade with the western tribes finally collapsed when King George's War broke out in 1744. Pro-French Ohio Valley and Great Lakes tribesfolk travelling to Fort Frontenac or Montreal bypassed Fort Oswego. Increasingly cut off from their primary source of furs and divided by the war, the Onondaga community split apart along factional lines.

Most pro-British Onondaga people remained in their ancestral country. The bulk of the pro-French faction, numbering nearly half of all Onondagas, gradually moved with like-minded Oneidas and Cayugas to the new settlement of Oswegatchie on the southern shore of the

St. Lawrence River at the mouth of the Cadaraqui Creek. Located between Montreal and Fort Frontenac on land within the modern city limits of Ogdensburg, New York, Oswegatchie was founded by Sulpician missionary Abbe Francois Picquet in 1749. The settlement grew from less than 100 people in 1750 to nearly 500 by 1750. This number doubled in 1755 as Onondagas and other Iroquois alienated by British expansion into their territories moved to Oswegatchie to support the French in their war with Great Britain.

Although all Iroquois nations officially maintained neutrality during the Seven Years War (1755-1762), most Onondaga people openly chose sides during the fighting. Many Onondaga warriors fought alongside Senecas and Cayugas in their unsuccessful bid to drive the British from Fort Niagara after the war ended in 1763. Almost all Oswegatchie Onondagas and more than a few of the 800 other Onondaga people remaining at their main town supported the British war effort despite formal; assertions of neutrality when war broke out between Great Britain and the colonies in 1775. Like the more southerly Susquehanna Valley towns, Onondaga became a staging area for British and Indian border raids. And like the Susquehanna towns, Onondaga was destroyed by American troops in 1779.

Many Onondaga people moved to Canada following the restoration of peace in 1783. The remaining 500 stayed in their ancestral homes. Many Onondaga families settled farther westward with their Seneca and Cayuga brethren to Buffalo Creek during the 1790s. Dissatisfied with conditions in the western country, many of these people moved back to join the 100 or so Onondaga people who had refused to abandon their valley. Today, most of the people living in the present-day Onondaga Reservation at Nedrow, New York trace their descent to those who refused to leave their traditional homes.

Sources

James A. Tuck has extensively explored the prehistoric origins of Onondaga society (Tuck 1971). Avocationalist Robert Ricklis also has made important contributions to the study of Onondaga archeology (Ricklis 1963; 1966). More recently, James W. Bradley has written what promises to be the definitive study of protohistoric and early historic Onondaga life (J. Bradley 1987a). Important information also is contained in studies by Beauchamp (1900) and Tuck (1971).

A general synthesis of written accounts of Onondaga life during the historic contact period appears in Blau, Campisi, and Tooker (1978). Publications of direct first-hand accounts of 18th-century Onondaga town life and culture may be seen in Bartram (1751), Beauchamp (1916), and Spangenburg (1879). Particularly detailed journal descriptions of Onondaga towns and countryside devastated by American soldiers during the Sullivan-Clinton expedition in 1779 have been gathered together and published by F. Cook (1887). Other important sources using significant 18th-century European writings on the Onondagas include Aquila (1983) and Graymont (1972).

Inventoried archeological properties located in Onondaga Country dating to the historic contact period include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Atwell	Onondaga Co, NY	1525-1550			Ricklis 1963
Barnes	Onondaga Co, NY	1525-1550			Snow 1990
Nursery	Onondaga Co, NY	1525-1550			Snow 1990
McNab	Onondaga Co, NY	1525-1550			Snow 1990
Pickering	Onondaga Co, NY	1525-1550			Ricklis 1966
Temperance House	Onondaga Co, NY	1525-1550			Ricklis 1966
Quirk	Onondaga Co, NY	1550-1575			Ricklis 1966
Sheldon	Onondaga Co, NY	1550-1575			Ricklis 1966
Chase	Onondaga Co, NY	1575-1600			Bradley 1979
Dwyer	Onondaga Co, NY	1575-1600			Ricklis 1966
Brewerton	Onondaga Co, NY	1575-1600			Ricklis 1966
Pompey Center	Onondaga Co, NY	1600-1620			J. Bradley 1979
Kaneenda	Onondaga Co, NY	1600-1625			Beauchamp 1900
Otihatanque	Onondaga Co, NY	1600-1655			Beauchamp 1900; J. Bradley 1987a
Weston/Oley/Western	Onondaga Co, NY	1610-1778			HAS
Pratt's Falls	Onondaga Co, NY	1620-1630			J. Bradley 1979
Shurtleff	Onondaga Co, NY	1630-1640			J. Bradley 1979
Carley	Onondaga Co, NY	1640-1650			J. Bradley 1979
Lot 18	Onondaga Co, NY	1650-1655			J. Bradley 1979
Indian Castle	Onondaga Co, NY	1655-1663			J. Bradley 1987a
Ste. Marie Gannentaha	Onondaga Co, NY	1656-1658			Connors, DeAngelo, & Pratt 1980
Indian Hill	Onondaga Co, NY	1663-1682			J. Bradley 1987a
Bloody Hill II/Weston	Onondaga Co, NY	1675-1700			J. Bradley 1987a; 1990
Jamesville	Onondaga Co, NY	1682-1700			J. Bradley 1987a
Unnamed	Phoenix, NY	1600s			Beauchamp 1900
Unnamed	Caughdenoy, NY	1600s			Beauchamp 1900
Sevier	Onondaga Co, NY	1700-1720			Bradley 1987a
Onondaga Castle	Onondaga Co, NY	1720-1779			Bradley 1987a
Coye	Onondaga Co, NY	1730-1750			Bradley 1987a

CAYUGA COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Several researchers believe that distinctive ceramics and settlement patterns first appearing in Late Woodland central Finger Lakes region archeological sites dating to A.D. 1000 represent the earliest identifiable evidence of Cayuga and Seneca occupation in the area (DeOrio 1978 and 1980; Niemczycki 1984 and 1991). Examining the available evidence, Niemczycki suggests that the gradual replacement of Richmond Incised pottery with Genoa Frilled wares by people living at fortified townsites like Klinko and Indian Fort Road

indicates that the immediate ancestors of most historic Cayuga people diverged from their former Seneca kinsfolk or neighbors sometime between A.D. 1450 and A.D. 1550. Emergence of what seem to be archeological analogs of the tripartite Cayuga town settlement system chronicled by later European observers during this time further supports suggestions that Cayuga people first appeared as a distinct society sometime during these years.

Although Alanson Skinner reported that most archeological sites located in the historic Cayuga homeland between Owasco and Cayuga had been heavily damaged by looters and development before 1920, significant intact deposits and numbers of collections drawn from sites survive (Skinner 1921). Working with these resources, investigators like Mary Ann Palmer Niemczycki, Robert N. DeOrio, and Harold Secor have dated several sites to the 16th-century. The multi-acre Culver and Locke Fort sites are among several locales within historically chronicled Cayuga country containing deposits believed to date to the early 1500s. Although a major town dating to the second half of the century has not yet been clearly identified in the area, several investigators think that the poorly known East Genoa site may represent the remains of a such a town. The nearby small one acre Genoa Fort site probably represents a small satellite community associated with a late 16th-century townsite (DeOrio in Niemczycki 1991).

The Seventeenth Century

Although archeological evidence dating to the early 1600s has been found in sites like Genoa Fort and Myers Station, little else is known about Indian life in Cayuga country prior to the 1650s. Cayuga people first emerged in written records when future Hudson Bay Company co-founder Pierre Espirit Radisson penned his account of his 1653 captivity in their towns.

The origin of the name Cayuga is unknown. They called themselves "People of Oiogouen," the name of one of the three Cayuga towns noted by Radisson. Archeologists believe that the early 17th-century fortified Myer's Station, Garret, and Venice townsites on Salmon Creek east of Cayuga Lake in the southerly reaches of historic Cayuga country represent successive occupations of people belonging to the Oiogouen community. The two other towns noted by Radisson, Tiohero and Onontare, were located farther north.

Jesuit missionaries established posts at the three Cayuga towns in 1668. Although documentation is incomplete, most investigators believe that they built their mission of St. Joseph at Oiogouen shortly after its residents moved their community some miles north of its Venice site locale. The St. Stephen mission was established at Tiohero town above Cayuga Lake. Farther north, the Jesuits built their mission of St. Rene at the Cayuga town of Onontare. Recent research suggests that the Rogers Farm site may represent the remains of this mission (Mandzy 1990).

Writing in 1677, Wentworth Greenhalgh noted that most Cayugas moved to three unfortified towns located within one mile of each other. Reviewing available data, DeOrio believes that the Young Farm, St. Joseph, and Crane Brook sites in the heart of historic Cayuga country between Owasco Lake and Cayuga Lake may represent the remains of these towns (DeOrio in Niemczycki 1991). Examining these data, Niemczycki has suggested that at least part of the St. Joseph population may have moved to Young Farm (Niemczycki 1991).

Like other inhabitants of Iroquoia, people living in Cayuga country experienced great changes during the 17th-century. Regional economic patterns began to shift from domestic production to a market economy as involvement in the fur trade led most people in Iroquoia to largely adopt European manufactures by the end of the century. Intensifying warfare devastated Cayuga communities. Many Cayuga people were killed in wars with the Hurons, the Eries, and other Indian nations. Warfare with the Susquehannocks became so acute that many Cayugas temporarily fled north to the Bay of Quinte on the north shore of Lake Ontario in 1662 to escape further attacks.

Other demographic dislocations occurred when Jesuit missionaries in Cayuga country were forced to leave with many of their Indian co-religionists sometime between 1682 and 1684. Despite this fact, most Cayugas maintained peaceful relations with the French. As a result, their communities were not attacked when de Denonville's column devastated nearby Seneca country in 1687.

The Eighteenth Century

Many aspects of 18th-century Cayuga life are poorly known. Although several sites containing European materials dating to these years have been found in Cayuga country, the early 18th-century Pattington site is one of the few archeological locales known to contain deposits clearly associated with Cayuga people.

What is known indicates that the Cayugas entered the 18th-century with their homes and country largely intact and undisturbed. Unlike their other Iroquois League confederates, Cayuga people managed to prevent destruction of their towns during fighting with the French between 1687 and 1696. Signatories to the 1701 peace treaty ending the fighting, most Cayugas remained neutral when Queen Anne's War broke out between England and France in 1703. Refusing to openly choose one side or another in this or subsequent early 18th-century colonial struggles, Cayugas instead turned their attention to trade with Western Indians and war with more southerly Catawba, Saponi, Tutelo, and Cherokee adversaries.

Making their peace with the Southern Indians at Albany in 1722, Cayuga chiefs joined other Iroquois sachems urging Saponis, Tutelos, and other Southern Indians to move north to Susquehanna country during the 1740s. Many of these people initially settled at the multi-cultural community that grew around Shamokin at the forks of the Susquehanna River. Subsequently forced from Shamokin as Pennsylvanian settlers flooded into the area in the

years following the end of King George's War in 1748, they moved farther upriver near newly established Cayuga towns along the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Formally adopted by the Cayugas in 1753, most of these people subsequently moved into the heart of Cayuga country by 1771.

Many Cayuga people living in Susquehanna country joined Senecas and Onondagas moving to Ohio country as the line of French posts established in 1753 pressed upon the western approaches to the region. Known as Mingos, most of these Iroquois immigrants openly supported the French when war broke out with Great Britain one year later. Joining with their Mingo brethren, many Cayugas remaining in their historic homeland also fought with the French against Britain.

Although most Cayugas made their peace with the British following the French defeat in 1760, more than a few joined Senecas and other Indians attacking British posts at Forts Pitt and Niagara after the British refused to honor their promises to withdraw from occupied Indian lands in 1763. Failing to take either post, the Cayugas and their allies formally re-established peace with the British in 1765.

Like their neighbors, Cayuga people generally supported the British when war broke out with American colonists in 1775. Most Cayugas took refuge in Fort Niagara after American troops destroyed their towns in 1779. Although some of these people subsequently moved to Canada with other Iroquois people when the war ended 1783, most Cayugas returned to their homeland around Cayuga Lake. Forced to sell their lands in the decades following the war, many Cayuga people moved among Senecas and other Iroquois people settling at Buffalo Creek and other places in western New York. Today, most of their descendants live in small communities in western New York, Ontario, and Oklahoma.

Sources

Studies by Skinner (1921), Mary Ann Palmer Niemczycki (1984 and 1991), and Robert N. DeOrio (1978 and 1980) provide basic information on Historic Contact period archeology in Cayuga country. A general survey appears in White, Engelbrecht, and Tooker (1978).

As elsewhere, written accounts provide most information about Cayuga culture during these years. Much information on Cayuga town life and settlement structure has been preserved in accounts written by Moravian missionaries visiting their country between 1745 and 1766 (Beauchamp 1916). Other information was recorded by American troops led by General Sullivan chronicling the appearance of the Cayuga countryside as they destroyed Cayuga towns and fields during their campaign against the Iroquois in 1779 (F. Cook 1887). Other information may be found in contemporary treaty minutes, trader's account books, diplomatic correspondence, missionary records, and other documents.

Inventoried archeological properties located in Cayuga Country dating to the historic contact period include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Klinko	Covert, NY	1450-1550			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Colgan	Venice, NY	1450-1550			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Indian Fort Road	Tompkins Co, NY	1450-1550			HAS; Niemczycki 1984; 191; NYAS
Parker Farm	Hector, NY	1525-1550			Edmondson 1976
Carmen/Stevens	Hector, NY	1525-1550			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Locke Fort	Locke, NY	1525-1550			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Culver	Hector, NY	1525-1550			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
East Genoa	Genoa, NY	1550-1600			Niemczycki 1991
Genoa Fort	Genoa, NY	1575-1625			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Myer's Station	Locke, NY	1620-1640			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Garrett	Catherine, NY	1640-1650			Niemczycki 1984; 1991
Young Farm/ Great Gully	Cayuga Co, NY	mid 1600s			Niemczycki 1984; NYAS
Flemming	Union Springs, NY	mid 1600s			Niemczycki 1984
Crane Brook	Union Springs, NY	mid 1600s			Niemczycki 1984
Venice	Cayuga Co, NY	1650-1660			Niemczycki 1991
St. Joseph	Cayuga Co, NY	1668-1682			Snow 1990
Rogers Farm/St. Rene	Wayne Co, NY	1668-1682			Mandzy 1990
St. Stephen	Cayuga Co, NY	1668-1682			Snow 1990
Pattington	Cayuga Co, NY	1720-			Niemczycki 1984; 1991

SENECA COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

The origins of the historic Seneca nation remain unclear. As mentioned earlier, late prehistoric communities located in the historic Genesee Valley Seneca heartland, such as Ely-Burgett and Harscher, contain assemblages similar to those found in nearby Cayuga country. Richmond Incised series pottery vessels represent the predominant collared ceramic wares in both areas. Extant evidence further indicates that protohistoric inhabitants of the valley later documented as the historic Seneca and Cayuga homeland also tended to live in the same kinds of small fortified towns.

Town size gradually increased during the 16th-century as growing numbers of people moved to fewer settlements. Appearance of marine shells, native copper, catlinite, and other trade goods in sites like Richmond Mills, Belcher, and Harscher suggests revival of earlier economic ties with people living farther east and west. A tubular brass bead and other

fragmentary pieces of brass and iron found at the Richmond Mills site represent the earliest known evidence of European contact in the area.

Distinctive Seneca Notched and Barbed Collar pots first appear as dominant ceramic wares in late 16th-century Adams and Culbertson site assemblages. The emergence of these pots as dominant wares mark Adams and Culbertson as the earliest identifiable components of what the late archeologist Charles F. Wray termed the Western and Eastern Seneca Sequence. Adams and Johnston, a small poorly known town thought to be its satellite, represent the first identifiable town associated with the Western Seneca sequence. Culbertson and the nearby small Alva Reed site, for their part, are believed to represent the earliest identifiable Eastern Seneca Sequence communities.

Contrasting known archeological resources with written records, Wray developed a terminus post quem sequence establishing dates for European and native artifacts found in sites throughout the Genesee Valley. Noting that historic documents consistently recorded a distinctive Seneca settlement pattern based upon the relocation of two major nucleated towns and associated outlying hamlets every ten to 20 years, Wray developed tentative sequences tracing the movements of eastern and western Seneca communities. Beginning in the mid 16th-century, this sequence ended in 1687, when Senecas burned and abandoned the last of their nucleated townsites in front of an invading French army commanded by the governor of New France, Jacques Rene de Brisay, marquis de Denonville. Constantly adjusted by Wray during his lifetime and since revised by Rochester Museum and Science Center archeologists Martha Sempowski and Lorraine Saunders, investigators widely use this TPQ sequence as a comparative benchmark for dating artifact assemblages throughout the region.

Both Adams and Culbertson represent remains of large fortified towns. Burials, pits, and other unusually well preserved features excavated at these sites contain substantial quantities of aboriginal ceramics, lithics, bone, antler, and shell artifacts. Small numbers of chronologically diagnostic glass beads have been found with copper and brass beads, hoops, and spirals, iron knives and axes, and other materials of European origin at both sites.

Ceramic and osteological analyses have detected differences between Adams site deposits and those from Culbertson, Johnston, and Alva Reed. Examinations of skeletons of women interred in Adams site graves show that they display several physical characteristics not shared by women buried in Culbertson site graves or men interred in either locale. Numbers of Late Ontario Iroquois Tradition wedge rim vessels found at the Adams site have not been found in proportionate amounts elsewhere in contemporary Genesee Valley sites. Together, these findings suggest that inhabitants of the westernmost Genesee Valley town had closer relations with people living farther north and west than those living in the nearby Culbertson, Johnston, or Alva Reed sites.

Subsequent protohistoric sites in the area generally emulate patterns identified at Adams and Culbertson. Although recent research suggests that Cameron site deposits identified by Wray as remains of the relocated western sequence Adams town may more properly represent the subsequent site of the late 16th and early 17th-century eastern sequence Tram site, all known evidence indicates that the Tram and Cameron sites post Adams and Culbertson site deposits. The poorly known Brisbane site may represent a Western Sequence hamlet. Whatever the precise chronological placement of these sites, locational analyses suggest that people living in Eastern and Western Sequence communities had been moving their settlements northeast down the Honeoye Creek drainage for more than 50 years when Europeans first visited the region during the early 1600s.

As elsewhere, numbers and percentages of objects of European origin increased in later 16th-century Genesee Valley sites. New types of domestically-produced artifacts, such as "September Morn Figurines" and brass or copper triangular projectile points, also appear in deposits dating to these years. Perceived growth in site size indicates movement of expanding populations to increasingly larger and more nucleated Eastern and Western Seneca Sequence towns.

The Seventeenth Century

Although Etienne Brule and other Frenchmen reportedly traveled to Seneca country during the early 1600s, Jesuit Father Chaumonot's 1656 account represents the earliest extant firsthand description of life in the westernmost Iroquois nation. Subsequent visitors like the already mentioned Wentworth Greenhalgh and French explorers Rene de Brehant de Galinee and Rene-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, who travelled along the western fringes of Seneca country in 1669, wrote little about what they saw in the Genesee Valley. As a result, much of what we know about Seneca life during these years comes from archeological sources or oral traditions.

This does not mean that Seneca people do not appear in 17th-century European records. Investigators have found numerous references to Senecas in French, Dutch, and English archives. Some of these sources use variants of the terms "Seneca" or Sinnekens" to collectively refer to the four Iroquois nations west of Mohawk country. Other sources use the term to refer to the Sonnontouan town located in Seneca country. Most 17th-century sources specifically referring to Seneca people either document Seneca embassies visiting European or Indian towns or comment on the activities of their warriors, traders, or diplomats.

Existing written records generally agree that the Senecas were the most populous Iroquois nation. Several sources suggest that they may have represented half of the total population of the Iroquois Confederacy. Although written records indicate that the Senecas numbered 10,000 people throughout the 17th-century, archeological evidence suggests a smaller population of from 2,000 to 3,000 individuals. Whatever their actual numbers, war and

disease killed hundreds of people living in Seneca country during the 1600s. Like other Iroquois, Senecas struggled to replace such losses by marrying or adopting foreigners.

Although the origins of the name remain obscure, most scholars generally agree that the name "Seneca" translates as "people of the big hill." Many Seneca people believe that the Boughton Hill NHL, known today as Ganondagan, is the site of this ancestral town. Seneca people also believe that the site holds the grave of Jikonsaseh (Parker 1926; R. Robinson 1976). Also known as the Peace Queen and Mother of the Nations, Iroquois people revere her as one of the three founders of their League of Five Nations.

Most major 17th-century Seneca towns were large and often fortified settlements encompassing from eight to 15 acres. As many as five cemetery plots have been identified at individual townsites. Like other Iroquois people, the inhabitants of Seneca country generally moved their towns to new locales every ten to 20 years. Factory Hollow, Warren, Steele, Marsh, and Boughton Hill NHL presently are thought to represent successive relocations of major Eastern Seneca Sequence towns. Dutch Hollow, Lima, Power House, Dann, and Rochester Junction, for their part, are believed to represent successively relocated major Western Seneca Sequence communities. Although relocation distances varied, general locations of all known Seneca Sequence towns indicate that their inhabitants were moving their communities in a northerly direction prior to 1687.

Much of what we know about 17th-century Seneca history centers around their wars with Europeans and other Indian nations. European sources state that Seneca warriors often dominated Iroquois military operations of the period. Cooperating with warriors from other Iroquois nations, Seneca men scored strategic successes against the Wenros, Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals, and Eries during the middle years of the 1600s. Despite these and other successes, Seneca arms did not always prevail against adversaries. Senecas suffered serious losses in battles with Susquehannocks and Eries. Other Seneca people trying to colonize former Huron, Petun, and Neutral lands north of Lakes Ontario and Erie were driven away by Mississauga and other Algonquian warriors during the latter decades of the century.

European documents state that captives from as many as 11 Indian nations lived among the Seneca people by 1656. Most captives were adopted by Seneca families and clans. The Seneca nation also occasionally incorporated entire communities. The population of one Seneca community, Gandougarae, for example, almost wholly consisted of Hurons, Neutrals, and other people forced from their homes by Iroquois warriors. Chaumonot, who visited the town in 1656, named it St. Michel in remembrance of the mission of the same name constructed at Scanoneanrat, the former home of most of the Huron residents of Gandougarae. The Bunce/Fox/Wheeler Station sites contain deposits that probably are associated with this community.

Chaumonot further wrote that the easternmost Seneca town, which he identified as Gandagan, served as their national capital. Noting that it was a large fortified town, he

observed that it contained no fewer than 100 longhouses. Artifacts dating to the 1650s found at the Marsh site indicates that it probably represents the remains of Gandagan town.

Jesuit priests returned to establish three missions in Seneca country in 1668. As mentioned earlier, St. Michel was built at Gandougarae, the present site of the Bunce/Fox/Wheeler Station archeological deposits. Establishing St. Jacques at Gandagan, they erected La Conception mission at the western town of Gandachioragon, "fields in the valley (?)." The Dann site probably represents the remains of this latter town.

Writing in 1677 during an interval of peace following the Susquehannock defeat, Wentworth Greenhalgh observed that the newly relocated western Seneca town, renamed Totiakton, "where the stream bends" was an unfortified settlement containing more than 100 longhouses. Rochester Junction site deposits almost surely contain the remains of this town and the relocated La Conception mission. The Kirkwood site, located five miles south of this site, probably holds the remains of Totiakton's satellite community, Gannounata, "something (a village) beyond or behind another (?)."

Farther east, Seneca people living at Gandagan and their Jesuit guests moved to the new town at the modern site of Boughton Hill NHL in Ganondagan State Park called Gannagaro, "fields, meadows, or plains laid down in particular way (?)" by 1672. The Beal/Cherry Street sites located near Ganondagan probably represent the remains of the relocated Gandougarae town and its associated St. Michel mission.

The Senecas destroyed all of their towns as they retreated away from de Denonville's raiders in 1687. Returning immediately after the French withdrew, they quickly built smaller and less densely settled communities. Those choosing to remain in Seneca country built new homes east around Canandaigua and Seneca lakes. Others soon began moving west toward the Genesee Valley, Niagara, and the Allegheny country.

Like people elsewhere, Seneca families adopted many European wares, materials, and methods during these years. Substantial amounts of metal tools, European ceramics, glasswares, Jesuit rings and medals, and other foreign manufactures make up more than 75 percent of total artifact assemblages at Boughton Hill NHL, Rochester Junction and other late 17th-century Seneca sites. Although domestic manufactures declined during these years, Seneca people continued to produce clay or stone pipes, chipped stone tools, and shell beads and ornaments. While many of these products served utilitarian roles, their near total absence in household deposits in these sites indicates that most traditional ceramic and stone tools and ornaments ultimately served their people as funerary offerings by the end of the 17th-century.

The Eighteenth Century

Although Seneca people still lived far from the expanding European frontier in 1700, their remote position did not insulate them from the effects of European contact. Like their neighbors, Seneca people had gained and lost much during the preceding century. New tools and ideas brought wealth and excitement to their towns. Such innovations came at a high price. Hundreds of Seneca people died in wars with Susquehannocks, Frenchmen, and other adversaries. Hundreds more had died from disease.

Eastern Seneca people continued to live in their new towns along the shores of Canandaigua Lake, Seneca Lake, and the Chemung River during the early 1700s. Many Western Seneca people, for their part, moved to communities along the Genesee and Allegheny rivers. Travelling to Montreal from their new towns as the 18th-century began, Seneca diplomats played major roles in negotiating the 1701 peace accord with the French that finally brought peace to Seneca country after more than a half century of war.

Seneca trappers and traders soon ranged widely through Ohio country and beyond peddling European wares into Ottawa, Miami, Wyandot, and other Western Indian communities. Anxious to avoid involvement in European wars, Seneca diplomats played European rivals off against one another as neutrals when Queen Anne's War broke out in 1703. Seneca chiefs worked to manage affairs of displaced Indians settled at their invitation along their southern frontiers from Canasteo to the Forks of the Ohio. Although officially neutral, many Seneca warriors secretly became involved in colonial wars or travelled south in search of glory, plunder, and prisoners.

These pursuits brought a measure of prosperity to Seneca towns during the early decades of the 1700s. Changing conditions repeatedly challenged their ability to maintain a higher standard of living. Spoils and plunder became increasingly harder to get after Iroquois sachems made peace with the Southern tribes in 1722. Peace created other problems. Seneca diplomats could not easily manipulate fears of colonial powers living amicably together during the "Long Peace" between 1714 and 1744. French posts established at Fort Detroit in 1701 and Fort Niagara in 1727 threatened to cut off their trade. Construction of the British post at Fort Oswego in 1725 enabled Ottawas and other Western tribesfolk seeking cheaper prices or better goods to bypass Seneca towns.

Responding to these challenges, Seneca entrepreneurs went further afield in search of clients and trapping grounds. Other Senecas moved to dominate the trade at Niagara and other nearby posts. Business picked up when renewed conflict between France and Great Britain created new economic opportunities for warriors, diplomats, and traders between 1744 to 1748. This boom ended temporarily when French and British traders pushed past their towns to trade directly with Ohio Indians in their own towns following the end of the war.

Many Senecas seeking greater economic opportunities joined other Iroquois people moving to Ohio during the 1750s. Cutting themselves off from their Iroquois confederates, many of these people established close ties with the French and their Ohio Indian allies. Known as Mingos, they played major roles in subsequent developments in the Ohio Valley. Other Seneca people moved farther south and west towards Niagara and the Allegheny country.

No matter where they lived, Seneca people gradually began building small log cabins in their towns during the mid-1700s. Leaded glass windows, metal-hinged doors, wooden chests, and other imported furnishings ultimately became commonplace in many Seneca homes. Large fields and orchards came to surround their towns. Farm animals such as chickens, hogs, horses, and cattle were raised. Archeological evidence corroborates written records showing that many Seneca people were able to afford woolen cloth, silver brooches, glass beads, and other luxury items.

International events compelled most Senecas to declare for Great Britain or France as both powers drifted towards their final showdown during the early 1750s. Most Western Senecas supported the French when war broke out in 1754. Many Eastern Senecas, for their part, threw their support behind the British. Fighting alongside European soldiers and patrolling the frontier, Eastern Seneca people allowed the British to build but not garrison a fort at their town of Canadasaga in 1756.

Many Eastern Senecas served in British armies taking Fort Niagara and other French posts. Most Western Senecas refused to accept the British victory in 1760. Both they and Eastern Senecas angered by British refusal to evacuate the western posts attacked forts along their western frontier in 1763. Successful for a time, reverses ultimately forced them to make peace at Fort Niagara in 1765.

Most Seneca people supported Great Britain when war broke out with the colonists in 1775. Other native people, like those Tuscaroras moving to the locale of the present Ohagi 6 archeological site, moved to Seneca country for protection at this time. Many Seneca warriors subsequently took part in attacks against American frontier forts and towns. American troops invaded Seneca country from the south and east in 1779. Marching through their lands, these columns methodically destroyed nearly every towns and field in Seneca country.

Although some Seneca people joined other Iroquois expatriots moving north to Canada at the end of the war, most chose to stay in their homeland. Concluding a separate peace with the Americans at Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Senecas gradually were forced to sign away much of their land during the following decades. Today, those people tracing ancestry to the original inhabitants of Seneca country not living in Seneca communities in western New York, Ontario, and Oklahoma live in urban and rural communities throughout eastern North America.

Sources

The first volumes of a projected series publishing analytic resumes of all known Seneca sequence townsites provide the most complete archeological documentation of Seneca lifeways in the Genesee Valley during the early years of historic contact (Wray, et al. 1987 and 1990). The full Seneca Sequence is set out in Wray and Schoff (1953) and Wray (1973 and 1985). Detailed information on the Seneca towns destroyed in 1687 may be found in Hamell (1980) and Hamell and John (1987). Important information also is contained in Mary Ann Palmer Niemczycki's inquiry into the origins and development of the Seneca and Cayuga communities (Niemczycki 1984). Overviews of Seneca culture and history during the colonial era appear in Abler and Tooker (1978), Houghton (1912), Parker (1926), and A.F.C. Wallace (1969).

Inventoried archeological properties located in Seneca Country dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Early Protohistoric Sites					
Alhart	Sweden, NY	1440-1510			Hamell 1976; Niemczycki 1984
Gardeau	Wyoming Co, NY	1300-1610			HAS
Ely-Burgett	Monroe Co, NY	early 1500s			Niemczycki 1984; Wray, et al. 1987
Phelps	Phelps, NY	early 1500s			Niemczycki 1984
Richmond Mills	Richmond, NY	early 1500s			Wray, et al. 1987
Belcher	Richmond, NY	early 1500s			Wray, et al. 1987
Harscher	Ontario Co, NY	early 1500s			Wray, et al. 1987
Proposed Eastern Sequence					
Culbertson	Livonia, NY	1575-1585			Wray, et al. 1990
Alva Reed	Richmond, NY	1575-1585			Wray, et al. 1990
Tram	Livonia, NY	1585-1605			Wray & Schoff 1953; Wray, et al. 1990
Factory Hollow	West Bloomfield, NY	1605-1625			Wray, et al. 1990
Conn	Ontario Co, NY	1605-1625			HAS; NYAS; Wray, et al. 1990
Warren	Bloomfield, NY	1625-1640			Wray, et al. 1990
Cornish	West Bloomfield, NY	1625-1640			Wray, et al. 1990
Steele	Ontario Co, NY	1640-1655			Wray, et al. 1990
Marsh	Ontario Co, NY	1655-1670			Wray, et al. 1990
Bunce/Fox/ Wheeler Station	Ontario Co, NY	1655-1670			Hamell and John 1987; Wray, et al. 1990
Hoffman	Ontario Co, NY	1655-1670			Wray, et al. 1990
Boughton Hill NHL	Ontario Co, NY	1670-1687	X		Hamell 1980; Wray 1985
Beale/Cherry Street	Ontario Co, NY	1670-1687			Hamell and John 1987; Wray, et al. 1990
Fort Hill	Ontario Co, NY	1685-1687			Wray, et al. 1990

Proposed Western Sequence

Adams	Livonia, NY	1575-1585		Wray & Schoff 1953; Wray, et al. 1990
Johnston	Livonia, NY	1575-1585		Wray, et al. 1990
Cameron	Lima, NY	1585-1605		Wray & Schoff 1953; Wray, et al. 1990
Brisbane	Lima, NY	unknown		Wray, et al. 1990
Dutch Hollow	Lima, NY	1605-1625		W. Ritchie 1954; Wray & Schoff 1953; Wray, et al. 1990
Feugle	Lima, NY	1605-1625		Wray & Schoff 1953; Wray, et al. 1990
Lima	Livingston Co, NY	1625-1640		Vandrei 1986; Wray, et al. 1990
Bosley Mills	Livingston Co, NY	1625-1640		Wray, et al. 1990
Power House	Livingston Co, NY	1640-1655		Wray, et al. 1990
Menzis	Livingston Co, NY	1640-1655		Wray, et al. 1990
Dann	Monroe Co, NY	1655-1670		Wray, et al. 1990
Rochester Junction	Monroe Co, NY	1670-1687	X	Wray, et al. 1990
Kirkwood	Livingston Co, NY	1670-1687		Wray, et al. 1990

Post-1687 Properties

Damasky	Ontario Co, NY	1687-1710		Wray, et al. 1990
Snyder-McClure	Ontario Co, NY	1687-1710	dist	Wray 1983; Wray, et al. 1990
White Springs	Ontario Co, NY	1687-1710		M. White 1967; Wary 1983; Wray, et al. 1990
Caneadea I	Allegany Co, NY	1710-1745		Wray n.d.
Hazlet	Ontario Co, NY	1710-1745		Wray n.d.
Huntoon	Ontario Co, NY	1710-1745		Wray 1983, n.d.
Kendaia I	Seneca Co, NY	1710-1745		HAS; NYAS; Wray n.d.
Townley-Read	Ontario Co, NY	1710-1745		HAS; NYAS; Wray 1983, n.d.
Old Fort Niagara NHL	Youngstown, NY	1720-1796	X	Dunnigan 1985
Artpark	Lewiston, NY	1720-1759		Scott & Scott 1991
Avon Bridge	Livingston Co, NY	1745-1779		NYAS; Wray 1983, n.d.
Canandaigua	Ontario Co, NY	1745-1779		Wray n.d.
Caneadea II	Allegany Co, NY	1745-1820		Wray 1983, n.d.
Conesus	Livingston Co, NY	1745-1779		Wray n.d.
Honeoye	Ontario Co, NY	1745-1779		Wray 1983, n.d.
Kashong	Ontario Co, NY	1745-1779		Wray n.d.
Kanadesaga	Ontario Co, NY	1745-1779		Wray n.d.
Kendaia II	Seneca Co, NY	1745-1779		HAS; NYAS; Wray n.d.
Ohagi 6	Livingston Co, NY	1775-1800		HAS; NYAS; Wray n.d.
Fall Brook	Livingston Co, NY	1754-1775		HAS; NYAS; Wray 1983, n.d.
Big Tree	Livingston Co, NY	1775-1820		Wray 1983, n.d.
Canawaugus	Livingston Co, NY	1775-1820		HAS; Hayes 1965; Wray 1983, n.d.
Little Beard's Town	Livingston Co, NY	1775-1820		Wray 1983, n.d.
Squawkie Hill	Livingston Co, NY	1775-1820		Wray 1983

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER AND PORTAGE ESCARPMENT

The Sixteenth Century

Numbers of protohistoric sites contain assemblages dominated by Late Ontario Iroquois Tradition Neutral-Erie Branch ceramics have been discovered along the Niagara Frontier from Batavia, New York farther west to Erie, Pennsylvania. Most Neutral-Erie Branch pots are relatively plain undecorated wares. Wedge-rim collars and incised geometric designs are common decorative motifs. Relations with nearby contemporary Whittlesey Phase people in Ohio making similar types of pots are not clearly understood. Clay vasiform and effigy pipes similar to others found in more easterly Iroquois sites in several Niagara Frontier sites suggest contacts with people from the historic Iroquois heartland.

Several known sites evidently contain remains of substantial towns. Protohistoric deposits predating 1550 in the area often contain ossuaries, individual bundle burials, and other features. Earthen rings occur at several of these locales. The purpose of these rings and the structure of the communities their builders lived in presently remain incompletely understood. Many rings and some cemeteries, like the burial site at Ripley, may be special ceremonial locales (L. Sullivan 1992 **contra** Parker 1906). Other rings may represent fortifications. Extensive protohistoric Neutral walled longhouse communities have been excavated in and around the Hamilton, Ontario, area. Excavations capable of revealing similar townplans have not yet been undertaken in contemporary Niagara Frontier sites in the United States.

Archeologists presently believe that they have identified two possible settlement sequences in this area. The easternmost of these is represented by the late prehistoric Buffum and Eaton sites and the later protohistoric Green Lake, Ellis, and Kleis sites. The protohistoric Goodyear, Newton-Hopper, and Bead Hill sites, for their part, are associated with successive relocations of the westernmost town (Engelbrecht 1990).

Small numbers of iron knives and axes, brass hoops and spirals, metal scraps, and glass beads dating to the later decades of the 16th-century have been found with late prehistoric aboriginal materials in these sites. Similar assemblages also have been identified as small protohistoric components within larger prehistoric deposits at Burnt Ship and Ricotta.

The identities of the occupants of these and other protohistoric Niagara Frontier locals are not known. No known written records directly document Indian life in the area prior to its abandonment sometime between the late 1630s and early 1650s. Seventeenth century maps and other documents indicate that several Indian communities were driven from the Niagara Frontier by the Senecas and other enemies. Little more than the names of several of these communities survive in extant records.

Much of what is known indicates that Neutral people and their affiliates lived in the northern and eastern reaches of this area. Farther west, people associated with the historically documented Erie nation lived along rivers flowing north into Lake Erie. Nearly everything known about these people comes from archeological sites and French sources. Much of the area's archeology is poorly known and fragmentary. French records for the area, for their part, generally are based on indirect observations or secondary information. Extant data suggest that both the Eries and the Neutrals were confederacies of related towns and villages. French travelers are known to have visited Neutral towns in modern-day Ontario before Iroquois warriors forced Neutral people to abandon their homeland by 1656. Reference to people generally believed to have been Eries occur in other records documenting events at various locales throughout the area during the 17th-century.

Little is known about the Wenros. Archeological evidence and archival data indicate that they may have been the easternmost Neutral nation. The name Wenro may translate as "people of the place of the floating scum." The Neutrals also may have been the first Indian nation mentioned in European records as being displaced by the Iroquois. Reportedly subjected to Seneca attacks during the early 1600s, most Wenros were said to have moved among the Hurons by 1638. Archeologist Marian E. White, the foremost student of aboriginal life along the Niagara Frontier, identified the protohistoric Shelby site on Oak Orchard Creek on the Niagara escarpment northwest of Batavia as the possible location of a Wenro community.

The Seventeenth Century

As mentioned earlier, no account written by any of the few Europeans known to have travelled across the Niagara and Portage Escarpments from western New York to northwestern Pennsylvania before the Iroquois dispersal of the Niagara Frontier Iroquois tradition people is known to survive. In 1632, Virginian Henry Fleet met and traded with Eries at the Falls of the Potomac River. Several Jesuit missionaries visited Neutral towns west of the Niagara River between 1626 and 1640. Permanent missions were not established, and the missionaries soon withdrew.

Notations on French maps drafted after Iroquois attacks forced the area's inhabitants to move elsewhere locate several Niagara Frontier communities. One of these maps, the 1650 Sanson projection, shows Erie territory stretching across the southeastern shore of Lake Erie. Another, a 1680 map attributed to Claude Bernou, notes the former locations of destroyed nations such as the Kakouagoga, located at the present site of Buffalo, New York, and Niagagarega, on the west bank of the Niagara River.

By all accounts, Erie, Neutral, and Wenro lifeways strongly resembled those of their more northerly Huron and Petun neighbors. While differing in specifics from Iroquois people farther east, all of these nations subscribed to what William Fenton calls the Northern Iroquoian cultural pattern.

As mentioned earlier, archeological sites represent the most extensive body of information associated with the area's original people. Several sites containing diagnostic artifacts dating to the early 17th-century are known. A historic component in the Kienuka site north of Buffalo may be the remains of a Neutral town. The Van Son Farm site on Grand Island, for its part, may represent the cemetery of a mid 17th-century Niagagarega community. Farther east, the already mentioned Shelby site may represent the remains of an early 17th-century Wenro town.

Ellis, Kleis, Bead Hill, and other sites along the lake plain along Lake Erie southwest of Buffalo may be locales of Erie towns. The most recent of these sites, the western Bead Hill and eastern Kleis sites, were abandoned by 1640. These terminal dates puzzle investigators. Historic documents clearly state that the Eries were not defeated and dispersed until 1656. Sites dating to this poorly known chapter of Erie history may yet be discovered along the Erie lake shore or farther inland as depicted on Sanson's and later maps.

Few articles of European origin are found in most early 17th-century Niagara Frontier sites. Only two iron tools, for example, have been found in Shelby site deposits. Later sites contain larger percentages of European wares. Substantial amounts of glass beads and small numbers of brass triangular projectile points, iron axes, knives, awls, and other European implements have been found in burials at the Kleis site (Engelbrecht 1984; M. White 1967 and 1971). The East 28th Street, Harris Hill, and Henry Long sites contain metal scraps, European ceramics, or other undatable European materials. Triangular chipped stone projectile points and Oakfield pots, Lawson series ceramics, Niagara Collared wares, or other Neutral-Erie Branch Late Ontario Iroquois Tradition pottery also have been found in most 17th-century Niagara Frontier archeological locales.

Sources

Studies by Marian E. White remain essential sources for Late Ontario Iroquois Tradition studies in the Niagara frontier area (M. White 1961, 1967, 1968, 1971, 1978a, and 1978b). Recent studies assessing aspects of White's contributions have been published by E. Hunt (1986) and Milisauskas (1977).

The most current summary of the status of Erie studies appears in Engelbrecht (1991). James Pendergast has examined archeological and archival evidence associated with poorly known Kakouagoga or Kahkwa communities possibly associated with the Erie people (Pendergast n.d.). Other studies conducted by Pendergast indicate that the poorly known Antouhonoronons, who may have been western Iroquois or western Iroquoians, may have been the Massawomecks chronicled by Maryland and Virginian colonists (Pendergast 1991a).

A general compilation of sources for Neutral archeology and ethnohistory put together by G.K. Wright (1963) contains references to many of the numerous studies of Neutral archeological sites in Ontario. Important information on the protohistoric Burning Spring

Fort, Ripley, and Silverheels sites appears in Guthe (1958). Other significant sources include Marian White's analysis of Kleis site cemetery deposits (M. White 1967), William Engelbrecht's analysis of Kleis site ceramics (Engelbrecht 1984), and Arthur C. Parker's monograph on the Ripley site (Parker 1907).

Inventoried archeological properties located along the Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR Cond	Source
Eastern Sequence				
Buffum Street	Erie Co, NY	1540-1560		E. Hunt 1986; NYAS; M. White 1961
Eaton	Erie Co, NY	1560-1580		E. Hunt 1986; NYAS; M. White 1961
Green Lake/ Orchard Park/Yates	Erie Co, NY	1580-1600		E. Hunt 1986; HAS; NYAS; M. White 1961
Ellis	Erie Co, NY	1600-1625		E. Hunt 1986; HAS; NYAS
Kleis	Erie Co, NY	1620-1640		Engelbrecht 1984; E. Hunt 1986; NYAS; M. White 1967
Western Sequence				
Newton-Hopper/ Rupp Farm	Erie Co, NY	1550-1575		E. Hunt 1986; HAS; NYAS
Goodyear	Erie Co, NY	1570-1590		E. Hunt 1986; NYAS; M. White 1961
Simmons	Erie Co, NY	1590-1610		E. Hunt 1986; NYAS
Bead Hill/Crook	Erie Co, NY	1610-1640		E. Hunt 1986; HAS; NYAS
		Other Sites		
Shelby	Orleans Co, NY	1550-1640		M. White 1978a
Silverheels	Erie Co, NY	1550-1650		Guthe 1958; HAS; J. Wright 1966
Buffalo K/Hart Farm	Erie Co, NY	1610-1778		HAS; NYAS
Van Son Farm	Erie Co, NY	1635-1645		E. Hunt 1986; HAS; NYAS; M. White 1968
Burning Spring Fort	Cattaraugus Co, NY	1600s		Guthe 1958; NYAS
Fort Peace	Niagara Co, NY	1600s		NYAS
Gerry Earthwork	Chautauqua Co, NY	1600s		NYAS
Kienuka	Niagara Co, NY	1600s		NYAS
Ripley	Chautauqua Co, NY	1600s		Parker 1907; Guthe 1958; J. Wright 1966
		Small or Unevaluated Sites		
Burnt Ship	Erie Co, NY	1000-1687		HAS; NYAS
Ricotta-Winchip	Allegany Co, NY	1000-1687		HAS; NYAS
Richard Anderson Farm Number 1	Chautauqua Co, NY	1530-1687		HAS; NYAS

Boyd Road	Erie, PA	1530-1778	HAS; NYAS
Lehde Nursery	Erie Co, NY	1530-1778	HAS; NYAS
Scadden	Chautauqua Co, NY	1530-1778	HAS; NYAS
Smithsonian 30 CA-3	Cattaraugus Co, NY	1530-1778	HAS; NYAS
High Banks	Erie Co, NY	1550-1650	HAS; NYAS
East 28th Street	Erie, PA	1590-1610	Carpenter, Pfirman, & Schoff 1949; Cadzow 1936
Fort Presque Isle	Erie Co, PA	contact	PASS
Hemlock Tree	Erie Co, PA	contact	PASS
LB-27	Erie Co, PA	contact	PASS

SUSQUEHANNA COUNTRY

The Sixteenth Century

Extant records indicate that a number of different groups of people following broadly similar ways of life lived in the Susquehanna Valley at the dawn of the 16th-century. Little is known about most of these people. One thing, however, is clear; only one of these nations, the Susquehannocks, remained in the Valley when the first European chroniclers began recording contacts with Indians in the area during the early years of the 17th-century.

Distinctive incised ceramics associated with ancestors of historic Susquehannock people first appear in upper Susquehanna River sites dating to the mid-1450s. Before that time, people living in small communities along the headwaters of the Susquehanna employed ceramic assemblages dominated by Richmond Incised wares similar to those produced by in communities located farther west in the Genesee Valley. After 1450, potters living in Susquehanna Valley towns along the border between New York and Pennsylvania began making their own distinctive incised grit tempered proto-Susquehannock wares. These wares differed from similar ceramics produced by Wyoming Valley people living farther downriver around Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania and others made by contemporary McFate-Quiggle people living along the westernmost branches of the Susquehanna. Both these wares, and presumably the societies of the people who made them, disappeared from the archeological record before European goods began appearing in regional sites after 1550.

The makers of grit-tempered proto-Susquehannock wares gradually began making similar shell-tempered pottery known among archeologists as Schultz series ceramics during the latter decades of the 1500s. The makers of these wares are widely believed to be the immediate ancestors of the historically chronicled Susquehannock people. Small amounts of copper and brass have been found in deposits containing Schultz wares in the upper Susquehanna Valley. Several variants of Schultz pottery, for example, have been found with brass spirals or beads in 15 graves associated with the Susquehannock component at the

Engelbert Site in Tioga County, New York (Beauregard 1991). Schultz ceramics also have been found with metal implements at the nearby Comfort site (Versaggi 1991).

Schultz wares begin to disappear from upper Susquehanna site deposits just as they first appear in downriver deposits containing ceramic assemblages dominated by Shenks Ferry wares sometime between 1525 and 1575. Most archeologists believe that this pattern reflects movements of Susquehannock people south into the land of Shenks Ferry people during this time.

Shenks Ferry people had been living along the lower Susquehanna River in fortified towns somewhat larger than those constructed by their upstream neighbors since A.D. 1300. They made collared pots decorated with incised motifs. Although nearly nothing presently is known about their social structure, religious beliefs, or language, they evidently employed hunting, gathering, and plant cultivation techniques similar to those used by other people in the region.

People making Schultz wares did not immediately supplant those producing Shenks Ferry pottery along the lower Susquehanna. Schultz pottery has been found in pits containing Shenks Ferry wares and small numbers of brass hoops and spirals at the protohistoric Shenks Ferry site. This site is the last known occupation associated with Shenks Ferry culture. These findings indicate that some people making or using Schultz phase wares briefly lived in Shenks Ferry communities as captives, spouses, or visitors.

Evidence of contact between people making Schultz and Shenks Ferry wares quickly diminished after upriver people established their first known major town at the Schultz-Funk site in the heart of Shenks Ferry lands in Washington Boro around 1575. This town was perhaps twice the size of earlier Shenks Ferry fortified towns. Occurrences of small amounts of Shenks Ferry pottery at Schultz-Funk and subsequent sites in the area indicate that Shenks Ferry pottery traits persisted in Susquehannock communities until about 1625. Shenks Ferry communities themselves cease to appear in the archeological record after 1575.

As mentioned above, Schultz-Funk contains the remains of a large fortified town. As many as 27 longhouses, three cemeteries, and perhaps three stockade construction episodes have been identified at the site. Increasing in size over time, the town gradually had the capacity to shelter as many as 1,500 inhabitants. Unprecedentedly large numbers of European goods have been found in the town's deposits. These include several types of iron and brass artifacts and nearly 3,000 glass beads. Existing evidence indicates that Schultz-Funk remained the principal Susquehannock town throughout the last quarter of the 16th-century.

The entire Susquehannock population may not have been concentrated at Schultz-Funk at all times during late protohistoric times. Discoveries of Schultz ceramics at the Herriott Farm and Pancake Island town sites in West Virginia suggests that many Susquehannock people moved elsewhere for limited periods of time during this phase of their history.

The Seventeenth Century

The Susquehannocks dominated Indian life in the Susquehanna Valley during most of the 17th-century. As preceding sections show, settlers chronicled many aspects of their life at that time. Substantial bodies of documentation preserve records of their relations with colonists and other Indian communities. Archeologists studying the remains of Susquehannock towns have learned much about their material culture. Susquehannock society and spiritual life, however, remains an enigma to most specialists.

Few Europeans recorded accounts of visits to their towns. Even fewer collected ethnographic information on their customs or beliefs. Whole periods of their 17th-century history are almost wholly unknown. They almost entirely disappeared from known records during a ten year-period between 1680 and 1690, for example.

Susquehannock people first appeared in European histories when Captain John Smith's Algonquian interpreter identified the 60 men meeting them at the head of Chesapeake Bay by that name in 1608. The term has been variously translated as an Algonquian word meaning "people or place at the falls, roiling, muddy, or long water." Those investigators accepting the translation believe that it probably represents a reference to the location of their town above Conewago Falls along the lower Susquehanna.

We do not know what Susquehannock people called themselves. Some scholars have suggested that other Iroquoian-speaking people knew them as Gandastogues or Andastes. Documents chronicling Andaste people living near Lake Erie suggest earlier origins or close connections in that area (Pendergast n.d.). Appearing in later documents as Conestoga, the word probably best translates as "cabin pole people." Dutch and Swedish settlers generally used the term Minquas to identify Susquehannock people and their neighbors. The terms Black and White Minqua appear in colonial documents. Most scholars believe that White Minquas were Susquehannocks. Black Minquas, for their part, are widely thought to have been Eries.

The Susquehannocks were associated with several other Indian communities at various times during the 1600s. At least one Swedish source, for example, notes that the Minquas were affiliated with groups identified as Tehaques, Serosquackes, and Skonedidehagas (A. Johnson 1911). In 1661, Maryland authorities placed the Susquehannocks at the head of the Sconondihagos and four other "united nations," i.e., the Ohongeoguenas, Unquehietts, Kaiquariegehagas, and Usququhagas. Some or all of these terms may be Iroquoian names for Susquehannock Algonquian or Siouian allies. Several archeologists believe that these terms also may identify Monongahela culture communities. Pendergast (1991a) summarizes information on other names that may have been associated with the Susquehannocks or their affiliates.

Relationships between the Susquehannocks and their neighbors presently are unclear (Feest 1978a; Pendergast 1992a). Many of the above mentioned people simply may have lived near Susquehannock towns. Some or all also may at various times have been constituents of coalitions led by Susquehannock people. Similar coalitions are documented with some frequency in European records. At least 100 Delaware warriors, for example, reportedly helped Susquehannocks defend their town against Seneca attack in 1663. Wicomisses and other Chesapeake Bay Algonquians reportedly also joined Susquehannock coalitions at one time or another.

Populous and powerful, Susquehannocks generally dominated most coalition affiliates. Many probably moved to the main Susquehannock town after losing much of their populations to war and disease. Archeological evidence corroborates historic records showing that Susquehannocks generally lived together within the walls of single large fortified towns. Like other people in the region, they moved to nearby localities every ten to 20 years. In keeping with this practice, most Susquehannocks moved from the Schultz-Funk community to the somewhat larger nearby Washington Boro site town on or about 1600. Portions of an oblong stockade wall, midden deposits, several hundred pits and hearths, and a large number of postmolds have been found at Washington Boro. Cemeteries associated with this community, formerly identified as the Ibaugh, Keller, Daisy, and Reitz sites, are located beyond the town stockade wall.

Estimates indicate that as many as 1,700 people may have made their homes within the quarter of a million square foot area enclosed by the town's stockade. Substantial numbers of glass beads, iron tools, and other European goods have been found in town deposits. Town residents also continued to produce large amounts of stone tools and clay pots and pipes. The most distinctive of these pots, a finely made and elaborately castellated shell tempered globular, is known as Washington Boro Incised ware. Often decorated with human effigies and widely regarded as the apogee of Susquehannock ceramic development, Washington Boro wares are primary diagnostic markers identifying Susquehannock sites dating from 1600 to 1625.

As mentioned earlier, Susquehannocks first began to maintain sustained contacts with English colonists from Jamestown during this period. Working to dominate regional commerce, they struggled to hold onto their strategic position astride the trade route between the Chesapeake Country and New France in the face of growing Iroquois opposition. Bypassing the Iroquois heartland, Susquehannock traders travelled west up the Allegheny River to conduct business with Erie, Neutral, and Huron clients (Pendergast 1992a). Contemporary Jesuit sources provide the earliest documentary corroboration of archeological evidence showing close relations between trading partners in these places. Jesuit records also contain references to hostilities with Iroquois nations that would dominate the subsequent history of the Susquehannocks and their associates.

Available evidence indicates that most Susquehannock people moved to the nearby Roberts and Billmeyer sites sometime around 1625. Unlike its predecessors, Roberts is a relatively small stockaded town located away from the main river on a branch of Conestoga Creek. Estimates based on site size suggest that 900 people could have lived in the town. Billmeyer is a less investigated town farther up the Susquehanna opposite the point where Codorus Creek debouches into the main river. Firearms, armor, a Rhenish stoneware jug dated 1630, and other objects of European origin have been found in two cemeteries located near the earlier Washington Boro site. Comprising the Frey-Haverstrick site, these cemeteries probably were used by Roberts and Billmeyer townsfolk.

Archeologist Barry C. Kent, the foremost modern student of Susquehannock culture, believes that the Roberts and Billmeyer sites represent a transition between the Washington Boro and later Strickler phases. No coins or other unequivocally chronologically diagnostic artifacts clearly date these sites to this intervening period. Discoveries of firearms and other European artifacts commonly found in later 17th-century Susquehannock sites indicate that Roberts, Billmyer, and Frey-Haverstick postdate 1625. Pottery, glass beads, and other artifacts chronologically straddling earlier and later phases of Susquehannock culture history more precisely fix their dates of occupation from 1625 to 1645.

Susquehannock culture changed dramatically during these years. Epidemics and wars killed hundreds of people throughout the Susquehanna Valley. Hundreds of refugees and captives adopted into Susquehannock families only partially replenished losses. Trade and war also brought unprecedented prosperity to Susquehannock communities. European artifacts begin to substantially replace aboriginal manufactures in archeological assemblages dating to these years. Archeological discoveries also corroborate documentation of a burgeoning munitions trade with Swedish, Dutch, and English merchants establishing posts on the eastern fringes of their country during the 1630s.

Susquehannock people constructed a new and imposing town at the Strickler site on or about 1645. Archeological excavations reveal Strickler to be one of the largest and most densely populated Indian communities yet found in the Northeast. Archeologists working at the site have discovered evidence of a bastioned stockade enclosing 12.5 acres of land. Three cemeteries associated with this community have thus far been found beyond the town walls.

Archeologists working at Strickler have exposed thousands of post molds associated with racks, platforms, and possibly as many as 90 longhouses. Hundreds of hearths and more than 600 pits also have been found. Kent suggests that Strickler may have sheltered as many as 3,000 people. Substantial amounts of European goods have been found at this locale. Aboriginal manufactures, by contrast, comprise less than a quarter of materials found at the site. Clay tobacco pipes and shell beads dominate the aboriginal assemblage. Several of these pipes and a number of bone combs found at Strickler are nearly indistinguishable from others found at the contemporary Dann site in Seneca country. Some catlinite beads also

have been found. The rest of the assemblage consists of some stone tools and Strickler Cord Marked pottery. This grit-tempered ware, relatively undecorated and poorly constructed, is the last type of pottery known to have been produced by Susquehannock potters. Later sites show that Susquehannock people subsequently abandoned these wares in favor of European manufactures.

Chronologically diagnostic beads and other artifacts found at Strickler indicate that the town was occupied during the height of Susquehannock power from 1645 to 1665. Contemporary European observers visiting the town noted that cannon mounted on stockade bastions reportedly commanded its approaches. Other documents record that the inhabitants of the main Susquehannock town of that time repelled a determined Seneca attack in 1663.

European firearms and other support became vital to Susquehannock survival during these years. Colonists, for their part, regarded Susquehannock people as important trading partners and indispensable border guards. Pursuing their own interests, Susquehannock diplomats signed several treaties with nearby Swedish, Dutch, and English settlers during the 1650s and 1660s. Under the terms of these treaties, Susquehannocks secured arms, ammunition, foodstuffs, and occasional military support. Colonial authorities, for their part, soon used these treaties to extend provincial boundaries and assert sovereignty over the Susquehannocks and their confederates.

European support became increasingly essential as the Beaver Wars reached their climax. Neither the Susquehannocks nor their European friends were able to stop Senecas and other Iroquois warriors from systematically attacking and dispersing their trading partners. One by one, the Hurons, Petuns, and Neutrals were defeated and dispersed. Seneca warriors finally succeeded in cutting the last Susquehannock link to the western fur country when they overwhelmed the Eries in 1656. Securing their western frontiers for the time being, they soon turned their full attention south toward their Susquehannock rivals. Although they successfully fended off subsequent attacks, the Susquehannocks and their allies suffered terribly. Hundreds were killed or captured in the fighting. Hundreds more perished as epidemics struck their town during the worst years of the struggle between 1661 and 1664.

Most Susquehannocks moved to the Oscar Leibhart site sometime after 1664. Not surprisingly, Oscar Leibhart is much smaller than its immediate predecessors. Excavators working at the site have found the remains of a town covering little more than five acres. Interments associated with three cemeteries, large numbers of pits, and a single longhouse post mold pattern thus far have been discovered at the site.

Oscar Leibhart site features contain smaller numbers of artifacts than similar features found at Strickler. Fewer objects of aboriginal manufacture have been discovered. Although substantial numbers of glass beads occur in site burials, overall numbers of most other European artifact types are much diminished.

Analyses of site size and longhouse length at Oscar Leibhart indicate that 1,200 people could have lived in the town. English sources indicate that fewer than 300 Susquehannocks remained alive when they abandoned Oscar Leibhart and moved south into Maryland in 1675. The comparatively small number of graves thus far found at the site corroborate these and other contemporary accounts of sharp Susquehannock population decline after 1664.

The reasons for the Susquehannock move to Maryland remain unclear. Francis Jennings believes that politically motivated Maryland authorities forced the Susquehannocks to move to the Piscataway Fort. Elisabeth Tooker sees no reason to doubt Jesuit reports citing Seneca attacks as the cause for Susquehannock relocation.

Whatever their cause, subsequent events are well documented. As shown in preceding sections, Virginian and Maryland settlers, angered by the murder of a colonist, attacked the Susquehannock refugees during the summer of 1675 at their new fort. Besieged for more than six weeks, the Susquehannocks finally slipped away and fled south. The survivors took refuge with friendly Occaneechi people living near the North Carolina border. Soon involved in incidents with local Virginian settlers, they subsequently moved away. Virginian militiamen, arriving after the Susquehannock withdrawal, took their frustrations out by attacking the Occaneechis.

Susquehannocks remained on the Virginia frontier for only a short time. Hostilities brought on by Bacon's rebellion forced most to move farther north among former Delaware allies. Others settled in Iroquois towns. Others returning to the lower Susquehanna built a new town at the nominated Byrd Leibhart site in 1676.

Located near Oscar Leibhart, this town was a fortified community encompassing some less four acres. As many as 900 people could have lived within the town's walls at one time. At least four cemeteries have been discovered beyond the stockade curtain. Very few aboriginal implements have been found in Byrd Leibhart community deposits. Shell beads, a few catlinite beads, and clay or stone pipes comprise much of the aboriginal assemblage. Two Madisonville pots most commonly found in Ohio Valley sites suggest contacts with western Indian people.

Brass kettles and numbers of iron tools, gun parts, glass and ceramic wares, and other trade goods have been found in Byrd Leibhart site deposits. Most of these goods are found in amounts smaller than those encountered in earlier sites. Few guns were used as grave furnishings. This shift from earlier patterns indicates that trade goods, especially firearms, lead, and edged iron tools, had become too indispensable to the living to be buried with the dead.

Although evidence is unclear, the Susquehannocks probably abandoned Byrd Leibhart by 1680. Some Susquehannock people may have moved among their Delaware neighbors to

the east. Others probably joined a large Seneca war party operating in Maryland. Using an old Piscataway fort as their base, these warriors raided Indian communities throughout Chesapeake country. Most Susquehannocks joining this group probably moved north with the returning Senecas following the conclusion of these attacks.

Some Susquehannocks returned to their old lands in company with a few Seneca immigrants sometime between 1690 and 1696. The new arrivals built their town at Conestoga. Like other late 17th-century deposits in the area, objects of European origin overwhelmingly dominate assemblages found in Conestoga site features. And, like other contemporary towns farther north, Conestoga settlers did not fortify their town. European observers such as William Penn, who visited the settlement in 1700, reported that townsfolk lived in small peak-roofed bark cabins scattered over a wide area. Archeological and documentary evidence suggest that most people living in these cabins made their livings by farming and animal husbandry. Small orchards were common. Although town residents depended upon farm products for their livings, hunting, fishing, and foraging continued to be essential parts of the Conestoga economy.

Eighteenth Century

Susquehanna country became home to several uprooted Indian communities during the 1700s. Many of these people initially moved in and around Conestoga town. Others moved among Shawnees at Pequea. Both towns lay astride the strategic Susquehanna Valley trade route joining the Trans-Appalachian region and the Western Country with coastal European settlements. They also lay at the center of the region where Iroquois and Pennsylvanian diplomats chose to resettle Indian immigrants.

Conestoga probably sheltered around 150 people around 1700. Archeological evidence indicates that townsfolk began erecting long houses on the site sometime after 1730. Archeological assemblages gathered at the locale corroborate written records indicating that nearly everything owned by Conestoga townsfolk at that time was produced by Europeans.

Most of these goods were obtained from Pennsylvanian traders such as German expatriate John Tilghman and French emigre Martin Chartier establishing posts at Conestoga during the first decades of the 18th-century. The town became an important way-station for merchants, missionaries, and dignitaries travelling to the Susquehanna to meet visiting Indian delegations.

Such meetings were held with increasing frequency as Conestoga became a vital center for diplomacy and trade on the Pennsylvania frontier. The Iroquois used Conestoga as their primary regional administrative center. Pennsylvanian officials, who obtained title to all Conestoga lands in 1700, initially used the town as a meeting place for councils with Indian allies, provincial traders, and contending Marylanders claiming the southern reaches of the Susquehanna for themselves.

Conestoga chiefs such as Civility, the Susquehannock Queen Cantowa, and the Conestoga Seneca leader Sohaes, hosted many of these meetings. Such assemblies became increasingly frequent as French Indian allies threatened to invade the Susquehanna frontier during Queen Anne's War. After the war, Conestoga traders played a major role in extending Pennsylvanian trade and influence farther west into Ohio.

Conestoga lost its importance as a frontier trading and diplomatic center as Pennsylvanians pushed westward. Settlers began moving to Conestoga during the 1730s. Indian people remaining in the area ultimately were restricted to a 500-acre reservation within the 16,000 acre tract known as Conestoga Manor. Increasingly surrounded by unfriendly settlers anxious to see them go away, Conestoga's population gradually drifted away. Several people claiming Susquehannock descent today live with Creek people in Oklahoma. Their town at Conestoga was a nearly deserted impoverished frontier backwater when Paxton rioters butchered all but two of the community's remaining 20 inhabitants in 1763.

Susquehanna Delawares

Delawares forced from their Hudson and Delaware Valley homes began to move to Susquehanna country at Iroquois insistence after most Susquehannocks were forced from the area around 1680. Small numbers first moved to towns at and around Paxton near Harrisburg. They subsequently were joined by others forced from Tulpehocken, Okehocking, and other lower Delaware Valley towns during the 1720s and 1730s. Farther north, Forks Delawares compelled to leave their lands in Minisink country in the years following the 1737 Walking Purchase, moved to new towns along the lower reaches of the upper Susquehanna River between Shamokin and the Wyoming Valley. Still other Delawares from lands farther north and east of Minisink moved in with Mahican refugees, Tuscarora immigrants, and Iroquois expatriates at Oquaga, Otsiningo, and other upper Susquehanna towns above present-day Binghamton, New York.

Like the Conestogas, most Delaware emigres initially built unfortified towns of bark covered houses and smaller outbuildings along stretches of riverbank. Most town residents began living in log cabins by mid-century. Most also came to depend upon colonists for most of their tools, weapons, and ornaments. Although many Delawares continued trade furs for goods, Indian gifts distributed by provincial officials anxious to maintain Delaware goodwill ultimately became the primary source for trade commodities by the 1740s. Moravian missionaries such as David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder and Presbyterian ministers inspired by the Great Awakening such as John and David Brainerd moving to the region during these years also distributed goods, brought farm animals, and erected mills, barns, and other structures in several Susquehanna Delaware communities.

Scattered communities of displaced Delawares tried to organize themselves into a unified nation on the Susquehanna under Sassoonan and other influential leaders during the 18th-

century. Epidemic disease, Iroquois intrigue, intercolonial warfare, provincial politics, and the westward expansion of European settlement in the years following the end of King George's War in 1748, prevented Delawares from attaining this goal on the Susquehanna.

Shamokin, strategically located at the forks of the Susquehanna in Sunbury, Pennsylvania, was widely regarded as the Delaware capital for a time. Sassoonan, the former Schuylkill Delaware leader recognized by Pennsylvania as the Delaware King, made his home there during the 1730s and 1740s. Shikellamy, the adopted French Oneida overseer assigned by Iroquois leaders to administer the Susquehanna Indians, also made Shamokin his headquarters during the these years. Settlers moving into the area after the end of King George's War forced most Delawares to move. Many settled farther west at Logstown and other communities along the upper Ohio River. Others, less willing to leave the Susquehanna, moved north to Wyoming, Otsiningo, Oquaga, and other towns.

Moravian missionaries established their communities near these towns at Gnadenhutten, Friedenshuetten, and other locales during the early 1740s. Many Delawares moved to these communities during the following decades. Prospering for a time, Moravian and nearby Indian towns were devastated by war parties sweeping through the upper Susquehanna during the Seven Years War. Rioting settlers like the Paxton Boys drove other Susquehanna Indians away during the troubled years following the end of the war.

Most Susquehanna Delawares fled westward. Those remaining at Oquaga and other upper Branch towns were finally burnt out of their homes and driven away during the War of Independence. Devastated during the fighting, no Delaware community remained intact anywhere on the Susquehanna when the war ended in 1783.

Archeologists have been conducting investigations in the region for more than 100 years. Despite their efforts, only seven locales presently can associated with Delaware occupation with any degree of confidence. All are situated at locations noted in colonial records. Each contains assemblages largely consisting of European artifacts and Indian trade goods.

Susquehanna Shawnees

Shawnee people forced from their Ohio Valley homes first moved to Pequea in Susquehanna country during the 1690s. Eager to employ them as buffers against French attacks, New York authorities brokered a peace between the Shawnees and their Iroquois adversaries. The new immigrants subsequently were allowed to settle around Harrisburg and in the Delaware River valley at the Delaware Water Gap.

Shawnees moving to Pennsylvania built unfortified towns similar to those constructed by their Delaware neighbors. Relations between both groups became particularly close. Many Shawnees also maintained amicable relations with European traders living near their towns.

Martin Chartier and others married into Shawnee families. Changing conditions gradually caused Shawnee relations with the Iroquois and Pennsylvanian settlers to deteriorate. As mentioned earlier, hostilities with local colonists forced the Shawnees to abandon their settlements at the Delaware Water Gap in 1727. Other Shawnees living at Conodogwinet and other lower Susquehanna towns moved back to Ohio shortly thereafter.

Like other Indian people living along the upper Susquehanna, most Shawnees were forced to move away from the area by 1750. Residents of Shawnee Town and other communities joined their relatives in Ohio soon after the Seven Years War broke out in 1755. A small group of Shawnees, in company with Delawares and other Eastern Indians, held on at Great Island along the upper reaches of the West Branch of the Susquehanna. The inhabitants of this town, the last known Shawnee community east of the Appalachian Mountains, finally abandoned their settlement sometime before the outbreak of the American War for Independence.

Mahicans Along the Susquehanna

Many Mahican people moved to Upper Susquehanna country during the middle years of the 18th-century. Most settled among Delawares living in and around Wyoming. Others moved to Tioga, Oquaga, and other towns dominated by expatriate Oneidas and Mohawks. Still others moved to Moravian communities. Many of the latter people had earlier joined the Moravian movement at Shekomeko and other missions established in their homeland in 1740.

Settlers pouring into the region during the years between the Seven Years War and the War of Independence forced most Susquehanna Mahicans to join their brethren in western exile in Ohio. Those remaining in Upper Susquehanna country joined Delaware and expatriate Iroquois communities. Most moved west to Ohio or north to the Iroquois heartland during the 1760s. Today, the descendants of these people live in Iroquois and Delaware communities at various places in the Northeast.

Conoys and Nanticokes in Susquehanna Country

Most Piscataway people left their homes at Conoy Island along the Potomac River for Conejohela Town on the lower Susquehanna between 1701 and 1710. Joseph Snyder conducted test excavations on Conoy Island in 1978 (MacCord 1991). Known in Pennsylvania by their Iroquois name, Conoy, these people established Conejohela across the Susquehanna from old fields associated with the abandoned Susquehannock Oscar and Byrd Leibhart sites.

Most Conejohela townsfolk moved to Conoy Town in 1718. Located near the mouth of Conoy Creek in Lancaster County, Conoy Town remained the principal settlement of Potomac Valley expatriots for more than 20 years. Extensive archeological deposits unearthed at the site indicate that Conoy Town residents maintained distinctive traditions like ossuary "bundle burials" consisting of several disarticulated human skeletons mixed together within single graves. Artifacts found at the site further show that its occupants had largely adopted European technology by mid-century. Although quantities of shell beads and fragments of splint basketry testify to the persistence of some crafts, iron, glass, and European ceramics dominate assemblages recovered from this locale.

Nearly surrounded by settlers, most Conoy people joined Nanticoke refugees living around the mouth of the Juniata River during the 1740s. Most of the Juniata settlers in turn moved to the Nanticoke town at Wyoming by 1747. Again pressed by settlers, Conoy and Nanticoke people abandoned Nanticoke Town and the other Susquehanna settlements by 1753. Although a number of these people subsequently returned to their old homeland, most moved north to new homes around Otsiningo above Binghamton, New York. Joined there by still another group of Nanticoke emigres, Otsiningo townsfolk lived peacefully until American troops advancing on the Iroquois heartland burned their homes in 1779. Once again, some of these people returned to the Chesapeake while others moved north and west. Today, their descendants live in Delaware, New Jersey, and in Iroquois communities in New York, Canada, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma.

Tuscaroras in Susquehanna Country

As many as 5,000 Tuscarora people were living in five palisaded towns located along tidewater rivers in North Carolina when war broke out with local settlers in 1711. Divided among themselves, the Tuscaroras were unable to stop armies of Carolinian settlers and Indian allies from devastating their towns. Hundreds of Tuscarora people were killed in the fighting. Many more were captured and sold into slavery. Still others fled from their country.

Many Tuscaroras moved to the headwaters of the Roanoke River in southwestern Virginia when fighting first broke out. Although the Virginians officially were at war with them, Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood, like New York governor Edmund Andros before him, saw their coming as an opportunity to bolster the security of his province's borders. Hoping to use the Tuscaroras as border guards, Spotswood allowed the refugees to settle near his projected frontier post of Fort Christanna early in 1713. Although they signed a treaty pledging friendship with the Virginians, few desired to become tributaries in a foreign land. Allowed to return to their homes following the end of the fighting, most Tuscaroras moved back to North Carolina.

Conditions in their homeland grew increasingly intolerable in the years following the British victory. Forced from their best lands, harassed by colonial officials, and arbitrarily taxed and enslaved, growing numbers of Tuscarora people began to look for new homes. Invited by Iroquois leaders to settle among them, Tuscaroras began to move north in 1713. Thus began a gradual migration that finally ended when a last group of 160 Tuscarora people settled among the Iroquois in 1766.

The first Tuscarora immigrants initially settled in a small community midway between the main Oneida and Onondaga towns. This community gradually grew in size as increasing numbers of Tuscarora people moved north. The Tuscaroras were formally adopted as the sixth Iroquois Confederacy nation sometime between late 1722 and early 1723. Although Tuscarora leaders were not added to the League's role of chiefs, they nevertheless participated in Iroquois councils.

Like other Eastern Iroquois people, many Tuscaroras moved to upper Susquehanna Valley towns during the middle years of the century. Most settled in a small community at the Great Bend of the Susquehanna below Oquaga. Others moved to communities farther south along the Juniata River. Wherever they lived, Susquehanna Valley Tuscaroras developed close relations with nearby expatriate Iroquois, Shawnee, and Coastal Algonquian people. Close connections also were established with Pennsylvanian and New England settlers moving into the Susquehanna country. Some of these settlers, like the prominent trader William Printup, took Tuscarora wives. Others, like missionary Thomas Barclay, worked to convert Tuscaroras and other expatriate Indians living around Oquaga.

Faithful to their British friends, most Susquehanna Tuscaroras supported Britain in ensuing wars with the French and rebellious colonists. Tuscaroras living in the Iroquois heartland, for their part, tended to favor either neutrality or the French. Whatever their sympathies, all Tuscarora people ultimately were burned out of their homes during the War of Independence by American troops or British rangers. Most moved to communities in Seneca country for the duration of the conflict. After the war, some of these people returned to their homes near Lake Oneida. Others moved to Canada. Today, many Tuscarora people reside on a small reservation above Niagara Falls in western New York. Canadian Tuscaroras primarily live on the Six Nation Reserve in nearby Ontario.

Tuteloes and Saponis in Susquehanna Country

Nearly all of the 200 or so Tutelo and Saponi people remaining in Virginia moved north to Shamokin in 1743. In 1748, many of these people moved farther upriver to Skogari at the mouth of Catawissa Creek. Nearly all of theses expatriates subsequently resettled farther north at Tioga and Tutelo Town at the junction of the Chemung and Susquehanna Rivers around the present-day city of Athens, Pennsylvania. Forced from their homes during the War of Independence, most of these people moved among the Cayugas. Although records

are incomplete, available data indicates that most Tutelos and Saponis joined Cayugas moving into exile in Canada after the end of the war.

No deposits clearly associated with Tutelo or Saponi expatriates living in Pennsylvania or New York have yet been found in the Susquehanna Valley.

Multi-Cultural Communities Along the Susquehanna

Large numbers of Indian immigrants moving into the Susquehanna Valley settled in large multi-cultural towns during the first half of the 18th-century. The earliest of these communities were located along the lower reaches of the Susquehanna River. Deposits unearthed at the Lancaster County Park site represent the remains of one of these towns.

Other communities later were established along the upper Susquehanna. European documentation provides extensive information on many of these towns. Archeological deposits associated with such chronicled sites as Ogehage and Newtychanning have been found in recent surveys.

As mentioned earlier, Moravian and Presbyterian missions were established in many areas of the region during these years. Although many of these communities are extensively documented in colonial records, only one, the Moravian mission town of Friedenshuetten on the upper Susquehanna River, has been identified by archeologists.

Several battlefields preserve efforts by Indian coalitions to defend their homes in and around Susquehanna country. The sites of one of these engagements, the New Town Battlefield, survives as a memorial to Susquehanna Valley Indian men fighting on both sides during the War of Independence.

Sources

Barry C. Kent's "Susquehanna's Indians" remains the single indispensable source for information on Historic Contact period Indian life in Susquehanna country (Kent 1984). Protohistoric copper trade connections between the upper Susquehanna Valley and adjacent areas are traced in Bradley (1987a). Herriott Farm and Pancake Hollow deposits in West Virginia are discussed in Brashler (1987) and MacCord (1952). Other important site information is contained in Cadzow (1936), Casselberry (1971), Smith and Graybill (1977), and Witthoft and Kinsey 1959. Shenks Ferry data are discussed in Heisey and Witmer (1964). Descriptions of the later Lancaster Park site may be found in Kinsey (1982), Kinsey and Custer (1982), and Custer, Carlson, and Doms (1986).

Publications by Francis Jennings also provide important information on Susquehannock and Conestoga history (Jennings 1967, 1968b, and 1978). Other important studies include Russell

Handsman's sociopolitical analysis of Susquehannock archeology (Handsman 1987) and Elisabeth Tooker's alternate explanation for Susquehannock dispersal (E. Tooker 1984).

Studies by Hunter (1978b), Jennings (1984 and 1988b), P.A. W. Wallace (1981), and Weslager (1972 and 1978) document Delaware life in Susquehanna country towns. Many of the nearly 50 Delaware towns mentioned in 18th-century colonial records are named in compilations put together by Donehoo (1928), Hanna (1911), Hunter (n.d.), Kent, et al. (1981), Tanner (1987), and P.A.W. Wallace (1965). Delores Elliott's survey of ethnohistoric records documenting the various locales of Otsiningo represents the most intensive look at late 18th-century settlement patterns in the Susquehanna country (Elliott 1977).

The little that is presently known about 18th-century Shawnee archeology in the region is summarized in Kent (1984). Studies by Callender (1978b), Hunter (1978b), Jennings (1984 and 1988b), P.A.W. Wallace (1981), Weslager (1972 and 1978), and Witthoft and Hunter (1955) document various aspects of Shawnee life in the region. Many of the Shawnee towns mentioned in colonial records have been located in compilations by Donehoo (1928), Hanna (1911), Hunter (n.d.), Kent, et al. (1981), Tanner (1987), and P.A.W. Wallace (1965).

Brasser (1978b) and P.A.W. Wallace (1981) discuss aspects of Mahican life in the region. No specifically identifiable evidence of Mahican occupation has been found in Friedens-huetten or other Susquehanna Valley towns known to have been the homes of Mahican people during the middle years of the 1700s.

Surveys of Nanticoke and Conoy life in the Susquehanna Country may be found in Kent (1984), P.A. W. Wallace (1981), and Weslager (1948). The most extensive account of Tuscarora culture and history in the Carolinas continues to be Crane (1928). Records documenting Tuscarora life in the Northeast during the years immediately following the end of the Tuscarora War are incomplete. Virtually nothing is known about the brief Tuscarora sojourn in Virginia. No documentary source directly records their life in the province, and no archeological deposit has yet been associated with their presence.

Much more is known about Tuscarora life farther north. Tuscaroras living in Pennsylvania and New York figured prominently in forest diplomacy as the Sixth Iroquois Nation throughout much of the century. Numerous documents detail many aspects of their activities. Much of this documentation is summarized in studies by Boyce (1987), F.R. Johnson (1967-1968), and Landy (1978). Although several Susquehanna Valley Tuscarora towns can be precisely located in colonial land records, none thus far has been found by archeologists. Evidence of Tutelo or Saponi occupation in the area also awaits discovery. Much of the known corpus of documentary data detailing their lives in Susquehanna Country is summarized by Claude E. Schaeffer (in Speck 1942).

Information associated with multi-cultural communities along the Susquehanna may be found in Hunter (1978b), Jennings (1984 and 1988b), P.A. W. Wallace (1981), and Weslager (1972

and 1978). Most multi-cultural communities are named in the above mentioned compilations of Donehoo (1928), Hanna (1911), Hunter (n.d.), Kent, et al. (1981), Tanner (1987), and P.A.W. Wallace (1965).

Inventoried archeological properties located in Susquehanna Country dating to the historic contact period include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
		Susquehannock Sequence			
Ahbe Brennan	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Blackman	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Bowland	Fenton, NY	1400s-1500s			HAS; Versaggi 1991
Cass	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Comfort	Dickinson, NY	1400s-1500s			Versaggi 1991
Engelbert	Nichols, NY	1400s-1500s			Beauregard 1991
Kennedy	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Murray Farm	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Sheshequin	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Sick	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Tioga Point	Bradford Co, PA	1400s-1500s			PASS
Murray Garden	Bradford Co, PA	1500s			PASS
Reformatory	Chemung Co, NY	1450-1610			HAS; NYAS
Big Island A	Chemung Co, NY	1530-1610			HAS; NYAS
Pancake Island	Hampshire Co, WV	late 1500s			Brashler 1987
Shenks Ferry	Conestoga, PA	1550-1575			Cadzow 1936; Kent 1984
Herriott Farm	Romney, WV	1550-1600			MacCord 1952
Schultz-Funk	Washington Boro, PA	1575-1600	X		Cadzow 1936; Casselberry 1971; Kent 1984; Smith & Graybill 1977
Washington Boro	Washington Boro, PA	1600-1625			Kent 1984
Roberts	Safe Harbor, PA	1625-1645	X		Kent 1984
Billmyer	Bainbridge, PA	1625-1645			Kent 1984
Frey-Haverstick Cemetery	Washington Boro, PA	1630-1645	X		Kent 1984
Strickler	Washington Boro, PA	1645-1665	X		Kent 1984
Oscar Leibhart	Lower Windsor, PA	1665-1674	X		Kent 1984
Byrd Leibhart	Lower Windsor, PA	1676-1680			Kent 1984
Lancaster County Park	Lancaster, PA	1720-1730	X		Kinsey 1982; Kinsey & Custer 1982; Custer, Carlson, & Doms 1986
Conestoga	Millersville, PA	1690-1763	X		Kent 1984
		Susquehanna Delawares			
Paxton	Dauphin Co, PA	1707-1718			Kent 1984
Maxatawny	Berks Co, PA	1746			Kent 1984; PASS
Assunepachta	Huntingdon Co, PA	1731-1740			Hunter n.d.
Knouse	Wapwallopen, PA	1740s-1756			Kent 1984

Great Island	Clinton Co, PA	1741-1776		PASS
Wyalusing	Bradford Co, PA	mid 1700s		PASS
Friedenshuetten	Bradford Co, PA	1763-1772		PASS
Bills	Lancaster Co, PA	undated		PASS

Susquehanna Shawnees

Lancaster County Park	Lancaster, PA	1680-1763	X	Kinsey 1982; Kinsey & Custer 1982; Custer, Carlson, & Doms 1986
Pequea	Lancaster Co, PA	1698-1707		Kent 1984
Wrightsville	York Co, PA	1720s		Kent 1984; PASS
Unnamed	Lancaster Co, PA	1720s		Kent 1984
Conodogwinet	Cumberland Co, PA	1720-1730		Kent 1984
Shawnee Town\ Bead Hill	Luzerne Co, PA	1728-1756		PASS
Peter Chartier	Cumberland Co, PA	1730s		Kent 1984
Great Island	Clinton Co, PA	1741-1776		PASS

Conoys and Nanticokes in Susquehanna Country

Conoy Island	Conoy Island, MD	1675-1710		MacCord 1991
Conejohela	Lancaster Co, PA	1701-1718		Kent 1984
Conoy Town	Lancaster Co, PA	1718-1743		Kent 1984
Old Conoy Town	Dauphin Co, PA	1743-?		Kent, et al. 1981

Multi-Cultural Communities Along the Susquehanna

Friedenshuetten	Bradford Co, PA	1763-1772		PASS
Newtychanning	Bradford Co, PA	-1779		PASS
Ogehage	Bradford Co, PA	-1779		PASS
New Town Battlefield NHL	Chemung Co, NY	1779	X	NPS 1987

Unidentified and Undated

Dunnstown	Clinton Co, PA	1750s		Kent, et al. 1981
Bashore Island	Dauphin Co, PA	undated		PASS
Bluebeard	Berks Co, PA	undated		PASS
Brenneman	Lancaster, PA	undated		PASS
Driftwood	Cameron Co, PA	undated		PASS
Emporium	Cameron Co, PA	undated		PASS
Gordon	Union Co, PA	undated		PASS
Herold Farm	Luzerne Co, PA	undated		PASS
Indiantown Gap Village	Lebanon, PA	undated		PASS
Johnston Farm	Lycoming Co, PA	undated		PASS
O'Malia	Luzerne Co, PA	undated		PASS
Sinnemahoning 1	Cameron Co, PA	undated		PASS

Sod Farm	Chemung Co, NY	contact	NYAS
South Wapwallopen	Luzerne Co, PA	undated	PASS
Thorley	York Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 BK 357	Berks Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 CN 23	Clinton Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 CN 32	Clinton Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 CN 86	Clinton Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 FR 232	Franklin Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LE 214	Lebanon Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LU 7	Luzerne Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 17	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 24	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 25	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 56	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 72	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 80	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 82	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 111	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 120	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 LY 121	Lycoming Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 SN 9	Snyder Co, PA	contact	PASS
36 SN 12	Snyder Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 YO 68	York Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 YO 245	York Co, PA	undated	PASS

MARYLAND AND VIRGINIAN UPLANDS

The Sixteenth Century

Several large town sites containing mixed assemblages of late prehistoric aboriginal materials and small amounts of European goods have been found in Maryland and Virginia piedmont valleys to the west of the Fall Line. Shell tempered Keyser pottery often associated with Monongahela culture and grit tempered Potomac Creek pots closely identified with more easterly Coastal Algonquian people predominate ceramic assemblages in more northerly parts of this area. Sand tempered Dan River and shell tempered New River wares predominate ceramic assemblages in deposits found in protohistoric southwestern piedmont towns and camps. Farther east, ancestors of the historic Meherrin and Nottoway Virginia Iroquoians began to produce Cashie-Branchville pots similar to those made by their North Carolina Tuscarora relatives during the same period (Custer 1986c; Egloff and Potter 1982). Few of these pots resemble the more elaborate globular castellated wares made by most Northern Iroquoian potters. Most instead show strong relationships to the plainer conoidal wares of coastal potters or the squat low-collared vessels made by Monongahela people living to the northwest.

People making these and similar pots began to construct large farming communities along level valley floodplains more than three centuries before historic contact (Custer 1986c; Egloff and Potter 1982; Stewart 1982). Many of these towns were fortified. The Ingles Bottom, Big Crab Orchard (44TZ1), and Perkin's Point sites each contain remains of from five to 20 roundhouses. All are surrounded by the remains of circular stockade walls. A single round-ended longhouse measuring 50 feet by 20 feet has been found at the Bessemer site.

Almost no objects of European origin have been found at these sites. Two glass beads were recovered from features containing aboriginal artifacts during salvage excavations at the now-inundated Perkin's Point site. Another bead was found on the site's surface. The other sites listed below contain small amounts of metal, triangular chipped stone projectile points, and ceramics radiometrically dated to terminal Late Woodland times.

The Seventeenth Century

Very little is known about the Mannahoacs, Monacans, Occaneechis, Saponis, and other people living beyond the Virginian Fall Line during the 17th-century. Much of the information on these groups recorded by John Smith and other early English chroniclers was hearsay evidence from Powhatans and other tidewater people. Because relations between coastal and interior people evidently often were hostile, much of this documentation probably more accurately records coastal Indian biases than actual ethnographic facts.

Englishmen such as Edward Bland, John Clayton, and William Byrd later made brief visits to western Virginian Indian towns. The number of such visitors always was small. Few of these men, moreover, penned extensive accounts of their visits. Most generally recounted names of towns, estimated numbers of warriors, and recorded other facts of potential military or economic importance.

Physical evidence of historic Indian occupation immediately west of the Fall Line also is rare. University of Virginia investigators, for example, were unable to find a single clearly identifiable site containing intact resources clearly attributable to historic contact Indian occupation in a 200-square-mile study area along the James and Rivanna River Valleys (Hantman 1990a). Recent findings of Potomac Creek-like and Colono wares, chipped bottle glass, and English flint gunflints within a circular midden stain at the Wright site represent the first clearly identifiable evidence of contact between Indian and European people in historic Monacan country (Mouer 1992b). Many scholars believe that future research will uncover other evidence of 17th-century Indian occupation in this and nearby areas. Others believe that the virtual absence of known archeological and documentary evidence in piedmont Virginia indicates that its inhabitants were destroyed or moved away from the area during historic times.

Investigators working in areas farther to the west have encountered archeological evidence of 17th-century Indian occupations. Gun parts and metal fragments, for example, have been found with aboriginal pottery and stone tools within a feature at the recently discovered Graham-White site. Located near the protohistoric Thomas Sawyer site, Graham-White may represent the remains of a small 17th-century hamlet. Although construction activities have destroyed a portion of the known deposits at this locale, more than 70 percent of the site is preserved under parkland and landfill (Turner 1990a). A large brass disc gorget similar to others dating to 1580-1650 in sites located from Tennessee to Florida has been found with other goods of European origin at the Trigg site (MacCord 1977; Waselkov 1989). Occaneechi Town archeological deposits also contain European artifacts dating to the 1600s.

The Eighteenth Century

Little more than occasional references to Indian people serving in British armies or trading in frontier forts or colonial settlements document 18th-century Indian life in the area. European materials have been found in burials at 44 HR 4 in what is believed to be the site of a Tutelo Indian settlement known as Buttrum Town in Henry County, Virginia. Samples drawn from a refuse pit dating to 1745 at this locale corroborate written records locating Buttrum Town at this locale during the first half of the 18th-century (Egloff, Moldenauer, and Rotenizer 1987). No other archeological properties clearly associated with 18th-century Indian people have been identified in Maryland or Virginian upland locales.

Undated Properties

Small numbers of undated historic Indian sites have been identified above the Fall Line in Maryland and Virginia. One of the most intriguing of these is Bushey's Cavern. Archeologists working in this large cliff overhang during the late 19th-century recovered substantial numbers of sherds of collared wares decorated with incised geometric designs and several trumpet-shaped human and animal effigy clay pipes. Howard A. MacCord believes these to be Susquehannock ceramics (MacCord 1991). Michael Stewart, for his part, has identified these materials as Munsee Incised wares. Whatever their identity, all sherds recovered from the site were mixed with local terminal Late Woodland ceramics and chipped stone triangular projectile points. Substantial amounts of animal bone and a number of carbonized corn cobs also were found. No objects of European origin have yet been associated with these materials. Discovery of a distinctively carved drilled bear molar "foot effigy" pendant, similar to others found in clearly dated protohistoric and early historic sites in West Virginia, Seneca country, and other portions of the region, may provide chronological provenance for at least a portion of the Bushey's Cave site deposit.

Other Schultz or Munsee Incised sherds also have been found with local artifacts at nearby 18WA23. Found nowhere else in sites older or later than 18WA23 and Bushey's Cave, this association of local and foreign ceramics suggests voluntary or involuntary movements of people from the Susquehanna or Delaware Valleys to both locales sometime during the early

historic contact period. Future study of data from both sites will largely be restricted to the laboratory. Quarrying and construction associated with a trailer park built in Bushey's Cavern have all but obliterated deposits not already removed by archeologists.

Substantial numbers of sites containing late prehistoric pottery have been found throughout this region (Mouer 1983). Only a few contain aboriginal deposits clearly associated with European artifacts. All of the sites listed below contain such assemblages. Excavators salvaging threatened archeological resources at the Thomas Sawyer site have recovered small numbers of glass beads in deposits containing late prehistoric aboriginal materials. Bronze ear plugs, glass beads, and an iron axe have been reported in features containing aboriginal lithics and ceramics dug up by local looters at the Chilhowie School site. Hand-wrought nails, pig and horse bones, and other materials of European origin also have been found mixed with aboriginal deposits in a feature disturbed during road construction at the Conrad site. Other sites listed below also contain mixed deposits.

Sources

Howard A MacCord has summarized much of the protohistoric and historic archeology in this region (MacCord 1989b). Most of the site data listed below appears in Archaeological Society of Virginia publications or National Register Registration Forms. Analyses of regional ceramic data may be found in Egloff and Potter (1982), Evans (1955), and Stewart (1982). Studies by Briceland (1987), Bushnell (1930, 1933, and 1935), Fowke (1894), and Mooney (1894) summarize much of the scant information on Indian life in 17th-century western Virginia. Several more recent studies of particular areas of the region also provide important data. C. G. Holland, for example, summarizes findings in southwestern Virginia (Holland 1970). Recent projects examining piedmont archeology and ethnohistory are reported in Hantman (1990a and 1990b) and Mouer (1983, 1992a, and 1992b).

Inventoried archeological properties located in the Maryland and Virginian Uplands dating to historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Ingles Bottom	Radford, VA	1500s	X	good	W. Clark, Buchannan, & Kegley 1975
Trigg	Radford, VA	1575-1625		dest	Buchanan 1984; MacCord 1977; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Bessemer	Eagle Rock, VA	pre-1600	X	dist	Moldenhauer 1982
Big Crab Orchard	Tazewell, VA	pre-1600	X	dist	W. Clark & McCartney 1978; Turner 1990b
Perkin's Point	Lake Moomaw, VA	pre-1600		dest	L. Johnson 1985; Turner 1990b; VDHR; Whyte & Geier 1982
Wright	Goochland Co, VA	1600s		dist	Mouer 1992b

Arey	Danville, VA	-1670	dest	MacCord 1989; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Occaneechi Town	Kerr Lake, VA	-1670	dest	MacCord 1989; Turner 1990b
Graham-White	Roanoke Co, VA	late 1600s	good	Turner 1990a; VDHR
44 HR 4	Henry Co, VA	mid-1700s		Egloff, Moldenhauer, & Rotenizer 1987; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Bushey's Cavern	Cavetown, MD	undated	dest	M. Stewart 1980 & 1982
18 WA 23	Cavetown, MD	undated	good	M. Stewart 1980 & 1982
Chilhowie School	Chilhowie, VA	undated	dest	Holland 1970; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Conrad	Warren Co, VA	undated	dist	Turner 1990b; VDHR
Mendota	Washington Co, VA	undated	dist	Holland 1970; Turner 1990b; VDHR
Thomas Sawyer	Salem, VA	undated	dest	MacCord 1989; Turner 1990b; VDHR
44 TZ 9	Tazewell Co, VA	undated	dest	Holland 1970; Turner 1990b; VDHR

APPALACHIAN HIGHLANDS

The Sixteenth Century

The Appalachian Highlands stretches across the upper reaches of the Ohio River valleys to the Allegheny, Monongahela, and upper Potomac drainages. This region encompasses eastern Ohio and western portions of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia. As mentioned earlier, remains of many large well fortified Monongahela towns have been found on hills and high terraces throughout western Maryland, southwestern Pennsylvania, northern West Virginia, and eastern Ohio. Many of these settlements contain as many as 30 oblong or round houses surrounded by palisade fortifications. Large amounts of corn, beans, and squash found in pits located between houses suggest that these towns were surrounded by extensive planting fields. Most are thought to date from A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1600. Although some of these communities may have persisted into the early 1600s, all disappeared by the time Europeans first entered the region during the middle years of the 17th-century.

Monongahela ceramics, community plans, and settlement patterns suggest the influence of neighboring Iroquoian people to the northeast and Fort Ancient people living farther west (Stewart 1980). Archeologists have discovered a wide range of ceramics possessing stylistic attributes from nearby areas in these sites. Preliminary efforts have been made to organize this diversity. Such high levels of ceramic variation may indicate significant ethnic, social, and linguistic differences among groups presently identified as Monongahelas. Collectively, Monongahela ceramic and settlement attributes constitute a distinctive assemblage differing significantly from others in neighboring areas.

Shell tempered Keyser cord-marked wares associated with late prehistoric Luray Phase Monongahela culture have been found with Potomac Creek and other wares produced by coastal people at the Biggs Ford and Berryville sites in the valley of Virginia (Bastian 1974; Stewart 1982). Oldtown phase wares have been excavated farther west at 46 MN 2 and Moore. Assemblages identified at these latter sites do not contain European materials. Small amounts of metal scraps and some glass beads have been found in most other below listed sites.

The Seventeenth Century

European artifacts dating to the early 17th-century have been found with Keyser Farm, Crites, and other Monongahela wares at R.T. Foley, Hughes Farm, and other below listed sites. Most known protohistoric Monongahela sites are fortified towns situated atop hills and bluffs overlooking central Appalachian river valleys. The R.T. Foley site is one of the few locales situated on lowland terrain.

No Monongahela community is identifiably documented in contemporary European records. Many scholars believe that colonial accounts mentioning Black Minquas, Massawomecks, or Atioundarons living north or west of the Susquehannocks refer to inhabitants of Monongahela archeological sites.

Clay and glass beads, copper or brass tinklers, beads, and discs, scrap metal fragments, and a cut-out metal figure believed to represent a salamander, lizard, or beaver have been found with Monongahela ceramics, triangular chipped stone projectile points, and extensive midden remains in deposits at the R.T. Foley site (Herbstritt 1982). Terminal dates of European artifacts found at this and other protohistoric Monongahela deposits corroborate historic accounts indicating that the Iroquois dispersed the aboriginal inhabitants of the Monongahela region by 1635.

The Eighteenth Century

Delaware, Shawnee, and other dispossessed or expatriated Indian people moved into this region during the 1700s. A wide range of archival sources chronicles events in their towns between the 1740s and 1780s. Archeological deposits listed below also have been found at historically chronicled locales of several of these communities.

Undated Properties

Many sites associated with Late Woodland Monongahela complex occupations are located in western Maryland, southwestern Pennsylvania, northern West Virginia, and eastern Ohio. Most of these date from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1600. Few of these sites can be dated definitively to the first century of historic contact. Glass beads, copper or brass hoops, spirals, "salamander or beaver" pendants, tinkler cones, kettle fragments, and other objects

of European origin have been found with Monongahela-type ceramics at the Eisiminger sites and other larger or more fully investigated late Monongahela townsites. All properties listed below contain some mixture of these materials. None, however, have thus far been reliably dated.

Sources

Few general studies of protohistoric Monongahela life have been undertaken. Attempts to link Monongahela complex people with historic Shawnees, Eries, or other historically-chronicled nations have not yet succeeded. The most extensive survey of protohistoric Monongahela culture appears in W.C. Johnson (1990). A brief overview may be consulted in Griffin (1978). Much of the substantial archival record of expatriate Indian life in the region during the 18th-century is summarized in such sources as G. Dowd (1992) and R. White (1992) and cartographically depicted in Tanner (1987)..

Inventoried archeological properties located in the Appalachian Highlands dating to historic contact period times include:

Monongahela Culture

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Moore	Allegany Co, MD	1450-1550			Pousson 1987; Wall 1985
46 MN 2	Morgan Co, WV	1500s			H.T. Wright 1959
Brokaw	Belmont Co, OH	1510-1590			Pickenpaugh 1984
Hunt	Belmont Co, OH	1545-1565			Grubb & Allen 1979-80
Throckmorton	Greene Co, PA	1550-1650			Herbstritt 1983
Bigg's Ford	Frederick Co, MD	1475-1575			Bastian 1974
Berryville	Berryville, VA	1600			McNett & Gardner 1975
Bowman	Shenandoah Co, VA	1500s-1600s			MacCord 1964
Crites	Moorefield, WV	1500s-1600s			Brashler 1988
Keyser	Page Co, VA	1500s-1600s			Manson, MacCord, & Griffin 1943
Miley	Shenandoah Co, VA	1500s-1600s			MacCord & Rodgers 1966
Quicksburg	Shenandoah Co, VA	1500s-1600s			MacCord 1973
R.T. Foley	Greene Co, PA	1500s-1600s	X		Herbstritt 1982
Johnston	Indiana Co, PA	1550-1660			PASS
Hughes	Montgomery Co, MD	1600s			Stearns 1940
Lapoe	Monongalia Co, WV	1600s			Graybill 1989
Hughes Farm	Ohio Co, WV	1600-1630			Dunnell 1962
Pearsall	Belmont Co, OH	1600s-1700s			Immel 1981
Belich Farm	Beaver Co, PA	undated			PASS
Buckhloons Park	Warren Co, PA	undated			PASS
Ellsworth Hale	Warren Co, PA	undated			PASS
Eisiminger	Greene Co, PA	undated			Mayer-Oakes 1955
Fishbasket	Armstrong Co, PA	undated			PASS
Kearn 1	Washington Co, PA	undated			PASS
Kloiber No. 1	Allegheny Co, PA	undated			PASS
McGuire Run	Warren Co, PA	undated			PASS

McGuire Run	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS
Old Zollarville	Washington Co, PA	undated		PASS
Penelec	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS
Rural Valley I	Armstrong Co, PA	undated		PASS
Shannon	Westmoreland Co, PA	undated		PASS
Sutton II	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS
White	Greene Co, PA	undated		Butler 1936
36 GR 2	Greene Co, PA	undated		Mayer-Oakes 1955
36 GR 13	Greene Co, PA	undated		Mayer-Oakes 1955
36 GR 15	Greene Co, PA	undated		Mayer-Oakes 1955
36 GR 16	Greene Co, PA	undated		Mayer-Oakes 1955
36 GR 17	Greene Co, PA	undated		Mayer-Oakes 1955
36 WA 55	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS
36 WA 89	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS
36 WA 90	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS
36 WA 107	Warren Co, PA	undated		PASS

Delaware Communities

Conemaugh Old Town	Cambria Co, PA	1730-		PASS
Logstown	Beaver Co, PA	1743-1764		Hunter n.d.
Custaloga's Town	Crawford Co, PA	1750-1762		Schoff n.d. & 1938
Mohulbucteetam	Armstrong Co, PA	1751-1770		PASS
Catfish Camp	Washington Co, PA	1760s-1770s		PASS
Chambers/Kuskuski	Lawrence Co, PA	1748-1778		McConnell 1992; PASS; Zakucia 1957
Pymatuning	Mercer Co, PA	1764-1780		Cadzow 1934; Hunter 1956; PASS
Anawanna	Washington Co, PA	historic		PASS
Herrington Farm Cemetery	Crawford Co, PA	historic		PASS

Shawnee Communities

Shawnee Indian Old Fields	Allegany Co, MD	1697-1727	X	H.T. Wright 1973
Conemaugh Old Town	Cambria Co, PA	1730-		PASS
Chartier's Town	Allegheny Co, PA	1734-1745		PASS
Logstown	Beaver Co, PA	1743-1764		Hunter n.d.
Goshgoshing	Forest Co, PA	1765-1770		Hunter n.d.

Mingo Communities

Logstown	Beaver Co, PA	1743-1764		Hunter n.d.

Wyandot Communities

Wyandotte Town	Lawrence Co, PA	1747-1750		Hunter n.d.; PASS

Multi-Cultural Communities

Logstown	Beaver Co, PA	1743-1764	Hunter n.d.
Chambers/Kuskuski	Lawrence Co, PA	1748-1778	McConnell 1992; PASS; Zakucia 1957
Hickory Town	Forest Co, PA	mid-1700s	Hunter n.d.
Goshgoshing	Forest Co, PA	1765-1769	Hunter n.d.
Friedensstadt	Lawrence Co, PA	1770-1773	Hunter 1956 & n.d.

Unidentified Sites

Indian Spring	Allegheny Co, PA	early 1700s	PASS
Bricillo	Indiana Co, PA	1758	PASS
Old McConnaughey House	Indiana Co, PA	1773	PASS
Heydrick	Venango Co, PA	1700s	Schoff n.d.
36 ME 15	Mercer Co, PA	1700s	PASS
Andree 3	Westmoreland Co, PA	contact	PASS
Ardenheim	Huntingdon Co, PA	historic	PASS
Father Angel	Washington Co, PA	historic	PASS
Fort Shirley	Huntingdon Co, PA	historic	PASS
Gerald Kimmel No. 1	Armstrong Co, PA	contact	PASS
Gerald Kimmel No. 2	Armstrong Co, PA	contact	PASS
Half King Rock	Fayette Co, PA	contact	PASS
Howell	Westmoreland Co, PA	historic	PASS
John Kimmel No. 7	Indiana Co, PA	contact	PASS
Margargee Run 1	Mercer Co, PA	contact	PASS
Phil Myer	Crawford Co, PA	1500s	PASS
Ryan H-6	Lawrence Co, PA	contact	PASS
Unnamed	Friendsville, MD	undated	MacCord 1989
31st Street Burial	Pittsburgh, PA	contact	PASS
36 BD 90	Bedford Co, PA	undated	PASS
36 BL 52	Blair Co, PA	undated	PASS
46 HY 62	Hardy Co, WV	proto-hist	WVAS

EUROPEAN-INDIAN CONTACT SITES IN THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN REGION

The Seventeenth Century

Few of the hundreds of thousands of European settlers moving to Atlantic shores during the 17th-century penetrated far beyond the easternmost fringes of the region. Despite this fact, numbers of European explorers, missionaries, soldiers, and government officials traveled through eastern portions of the region at various times during the 1600s. Only a few remained for more than a short time. Dutch explorations, such as Kleyntie's 1614 expedition into the eastern portion of the region, Pieter Barentsz's diplomatic mission to the Mohawk

first castle to reestablish the peace broken by Fort Orange commander Van Crieckenbeeck's ill-fated support of the Mahicans in 1626, and the chronicle of the 1634-1635 mission to the Iroquois attributed to Van den Bogaert, periodically penetrated the Trans-Appalachian frontier during this period. Later on, ethnic Dutch traders like Johannes Rooseboom pressed English trade interests deeper into the region and beyond.

Dutch traders generally limited their contacts to forts and posts situated along the eastern margin of the region such as the nominated Fort Orange and Schuyler Flatts properties. French colonists made several abortive attempts to establish missions and forts in Iroquois territory. The Rogers Farm and Ste. Marie de Gannentaha sites preserve the remains of Jesuit settlements established in the Iroquois heartland. Old Fort Niagara NHL, for its part, is located at the site of the first short-lived French posts in the area, LaSalle's Fort Conti (1678), and Fort Denonville (1687-88).

English officials also failed to establish permanent posts within the heartland of their Iroquois allies during the 17th-century. Albany traders, such as the above mentioned Rooseboom and Arnout Viele, began to travel west across the region to the Ohio country during the last decades of the 1600s. During that time, small numbers of English settlers moving westward from the coast also began to purchase and settle territory along the extreme eastern and southern fringes of the region. Established along the lower reaches of the Mohawk and Susquehanna rivers, these settlements would soon serve as jumping-off points for colonists moving deeper into the region during the first decades of the 1700s.

The Eighteenth Century

French-Indian Contact in the Trans-Appalachian Region

French authorities mounted continual efforts to extend their nation's influence into the region. Jesuit, Sulpician, and other missionaries proselytized widely in Iroquois communities. French traders peddled their wares and established posts near western Iroquois towns. French governors flattered Iroquois leaders and gave gifts to draw them into their interest.

These efforts met with uneven success. Missionaries often won large followings in many Iroquois towns. Iroquois leaders alarmed by such successes repeatedly ordered priests to leave their territories. Proselytes left behind frequently formed themselves into pro-French political factions. Such factions ultimately split many communities. Large numbers of Mohawk converts subsequently resettled at Caughnawaga. As many as one half of all Onondagas, for their part, moved to Oswegatchie when Father Picquet established his post at the mouth of Cadaraqui Creek in 1749.

French traders also encountered some success among western Iroquois people. Free-ranging Coureur de Bois travelled widely through the region. Many served as French agents.

Others, such as Martin Chartier, James Le Tort, and others, served themselves. One of these men, a former captive raised by a Seneca family named Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, attained a high degree of influence among the Senecas during the last decades of the 17th-century. Was especially successful in keeping many Senecas out of the fighting during King William's (1689-1697) and Queen Anne's (1703-1714) wars. After they ended, he built a trading post at the base of the Niagara Escarpment about six miles upriver from the site of Fort Niagara. This post, the only French settlement in the area from 1720 to 1726, was maintained by the French until 1759. Traders travelling from the Niagara area extended French influence across the western borders of the region.

Administrators encountered less success in their efforts to directly project French authority. Repeated efforts to build posts in Iroquois towns met with failure. Diplomatic gifts and flattery brought promises of support from many Iroquois leaders. Only Christian Iroquois living in New France openly helped the French in their subsequent wars against the British.

Unable to build forts in Iroquoia, French authorities attempted to outflank the Iroquois by erecting Fort Frontenac, Fort Niagara, Fort St. Frederic, Fort Carillon at Ticonderoga, and other posts along their frontiers. French agents used these posts as bases to draw Iroquois people into their interest. In the end, their efforts failed. The French never were able to outdo the British in the quantity or quality of their goods. Efforts of British diplomats such as Sir William Johnson and Conrad Weiser, moreover, kept most Iroquois loyal to the Crown.

French inability to secure Iroquois support in their war against the British in 1755 was a major factor in their defeat. Achieving successes at the beginning of the war, French troops found themselves unable to stop subsequent British columns from advancing on their forts. Inspired by British promises that they would demolish and abandon captured posts, many Iroquois warriors joined the British armies. The last of these French posts was surrendered in 1760. Defeated by the British, the French were forced to cede New France under the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Substantial amounts of archival and archeological research have been devoted to developing fuller understandings of French posts erected on the borders of the region during the 18th-century. The major thrust of previous archival research has documented many aspects of French life at these posts. Much of this research also has documented the conduct of Indian diplomacy and trade in the area.

All of the posts listed below also have been sites of intensive archeological inquiry. Much has been learned about the building history, military architecture, and layout of these forts. Almost nothing is known about the archeology of Indian life at French posts on the borders of the region. Quantities of Indian trade goods have been found at most forts. Recent excavations at Old Fort Niagara NHL have resulted in the first known recovery of physical evidence of Indian interactions with Europeans within the area occupied by the French post.

Some of this material predates the construction of the main fortification in 1726. Analysis of these materials promises to shed new light into Indian relations at the French posts of the period.

Anglo-Indian Contact in the Trans-Appalachian Region

Anglo-Americans generally enjoyed greater success among the Iroquois than their French rivals. The Covenant Chain alliance established during the preceding century continued to bind both peoples together. English diplomats maintained their friendship while their goods circulated through Indian towns. Yet even the English could not establish a permanent post within the Iroquois heartland until Mohawk chiefs finally allowed New York authorities to erect a post at Fort Hunter to protect their towns from French attack in 1712.

Fulfilling their promise to protect the Mohawk towns, British authorities also soon used the new post to project influence into the region from Albany. Despite continuing Iroquois resistance, Albany traders began travelling west from the town. Most New Yorkers preferred to let Indians come to their posts. Permitted to travel peacefully through the region with the coming of peace in 1701, Western Indian people like the Ottawas and Miamis began to congregate at these posts in increasing numbers. Eager to gain direct access to this trade, Pennsylvanian, Maryland, and Virginian frontiersmen travelled west to Ohio Valley Indian towns during the middle years of the century.

During the 1700s, contending commercial interests vied for control of the trade much as they had during the preceding century. French agents and many Iroquois traders did their best to discourage Western Indian people from travelling to Albany. Determined to overcome such obstacles and anxious to gain more direct access to western trade routes, New York authorities erected Fort Oswego on the southern banks of Lake Ontario in 1722. Fort Oswego soon became the center of the northern British fur trade. Its isolated location and vulnerability to French attack, however, prevented this post from becoming a center for British expansion into the region.

The Iroquois limited British expansion to the lower Mohawk and Susquehanna Valleys until the Seven Years War. To the east, British troops and colonial settlers erected a chain of forts along the Appalachian foothills to protect their settlements from Indian and French attacks from Fort Stanwix to the north to Forts Chiswell, Dinwiddie, and Fauquier to the south. Following a series of defeats during the first years of the war, British forces subsequently captured and occupied all French posts to the west of the Iroquois heartland. Seneca and other Western Iroquois warriors tried to drive the British from posts on their frontiers during a widespread struggle most commonly known as Pontiac's War. Enjoying some successes for a time, their ultimate failure forced most Iroquois to accept the British military occupation of the western posts and acquiesce to a new general demarcation line between their territories and those of the eastern colonies at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768.

The Trans-Appalachian frontier was ringed by British posts by the end of Pontiac's War. Much of the Iroquois borderlands, so laboriously protected during the earlier years of the century, soon fell from their hands. By 1770, all but the uppermost branches of the Susquehanna along the eastern border was under British control. Farther west, the upper Ohio around the Forks was occupied by British troops. Other settlers poured across the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky from Virginia. Despite this fact, few British settlers were living within the Iroquois heartland to the west of the 1768 demarcation line when war broke out between Great Britain and rebellious colonists in 1775.

Neither belligerent built new posts in the heart of Iroquoia during the War of Independence. Instead, existing forts, like Niagara, were strengthened and used to support military efforts and further Indian policies. American rebels used posts like Fort Stanwix, rechristened Fort Schuyler, to project influence into Iroquois country during the war. British posts like Fort Niagara became havens for Iroquois continuing to support their old Covenant Chain allies. Although the easternmost of these posts were surrendered to the Americans in the decades following the end of the war, Detroit and other more westerly forts were held by the British up to the end of the War of 1812.

Like the French, British and American troops could raid but not occupy the Iroquois heartland during most of the 18th-century. Posts ultimately were not necessary to seize Iroquois country. Many Iroquois did not return to their homes when the war ended in 1783. Some moved west. Those who remained were forced to sell much of their land and live on reservations. In the end, Americans found it more expedient to use business offices rather than forts to take Iroquois lands.

Sources

Indian-European relations in the region during the 17th-century are summarized in Heidenreich (1971), Jennings (1984), Kent (1984), Trelease (1960), and Trigger (1978b and 1980). Information on the physical evidence of this encounter is summarized in Huey (1988) and Pena (1990). A substantial literature documents Anglo-Iroquois relations. Among the more prominent of these are Aquila (1983), Downes (1940), Graymont (1972), Jennings (1984 and 1988b), and Trigger (1978b).

All of the below listed sites contain deposits associated with European-Indian relations. Important information illuminating various aspects of this relationship has been unearthed at the nominated Fort Orange and Old Fort Niagara NHL properties. Other posts possess the potential to reveal further information.

Inventoried archeological properties associated with Dutch, French, and Anglo-American contact in the Trans-Appalachian region during historic contact period times include:

Site Name	Location	Date	NR	Cond	Source
Dutch-Indian Contact					
Schuyler Flatts	Colonie, NY	1643-1664	X		Huey 1985
Fort Orange	Albany Co, NY	1624-1664			Huey 1988; Pena 1990
French-Indian Contact					
Ste. Marie de Gannentaha	Onondaga Co, NY	1656-1658			Connors, DeAngelo, & Pratt 1980
Rogers Farm	Wayne Co, NY	1668-1682			Mandzy 1990
Old Fort Niagara NHL	Youngstown, NY	1678-1759	X		Dunnigan 1985
Artpark	Lewiston, NY	1720-1759			Scott & Scott 1991
Fort St. Frederic NHL	Crown Point, NY	1731-1760	X		NPS 1987
Fort Ticonderoga NHL	Essex Co, NY	1755-1762	X		NPS 1987
Anglo-Indian Contact					
Schuyler Flatts	Colonie, NY	1664-1759	X		Huey 1985
Fort Orange	Albany Co, NY	1664-1776			Huey 1988; Pena 1990
Fort Plain Cemetery	Minden, NY	1600s			MDSI
Guy Park Manor/ Claus Mansion	Amsterdam, NY	1700s			MDSI
Fort Haldimand	Carleton Island, NY	late 1700s			Bohn 1989
Fort Johnson NHL	Montgomery Co, NY	1749-	X		NPS 1987
Fort Klock NHL	Montgomery Co, NY	1750-	X		NPS 1987
Fort Necessity NB	Monongahela, PA	1754	X		NPS 1987
Fort Chiswell	Wythe Co, VA	1755-1760			MacCord 1973b
Fort Dinwiddie	Bath Co, VA	1755-1760			MacCord 1973b
Fort Fauquier	Botetourt Co, VA	1755-1760			MacCord 1973b
Fort Ontario	Oswego, NY	1755-1796			Workmaster 1969
Fort Ticonderoga NHL	Essex Co, NY	1755-1779	X		NPS 1987
Old Fort Niagara NHL	Youngstown, NY	1759-1796	X		Dunnigan 1985
Fort Crown Point NHL	Crown Point, NY	1760-1777	X		NPS 1987
Johnson Hall NHL	Johnstown, NY	1763-	X		NPS 1987
Bushy Run Battlefield NHL	Westmoreland Co, PA	1763	X		NPS 1987
Fort Stanwix NHL	Rome, NY	1768-	X		NPS 1987
Old Stone Fort	Schoharie, NY	1700s			MDSI
Oriskany Battlefield NHL	Oneida Co, NY	1777	X		NPS 1987

F.I. Names of Associated Property Types

Habitations
Economic Activity Areas
Military Properties
Spiritually Significant Areas

F.II. Associated Property Type Descriptions

Archeological evidence presented in each NHL property nomination is organized into one or more property types. As described in the Secretary's Standards for Archeology and Historic Preservation, property types are groupings "of individual properties based on shared physical or associative characteristics [that] link the ideas incorporated in the theoretical historic context with actual historic properties that illustrate those ideas" (National Park Service 1983).

Property types are classified differently in each of the six late prehistoric or historic contact period study units thus far developed by State Historic Preservation Offices located within the NPS Mid-Atlantic external program service area. Despite this fact, all of these classificatory schemes share certain similarities. Each contrasts large and small habitation sites and distinguishes between permanent and temporary occupations. All further consider burials and unidentified deposits.

Study units of historic contact resources in Ohio (Brose 1985) and Delaware (Custer 1986) emphasizing seasonality and functionality organize property types under such categories as winter camps, salt processing locales, farming towns, plant collecting camps, fishing camps, and hunting camps. Physical features such as site size and composition are stressed in West Virginia (Graybill 1986), Connecticut Valley, Massachusetts (J. Bradley 1984), Pennsylvania (Raber 1985), and New Jersey (L. Williams and Kardas 1982) historic contexts.

A particularly broad range of resource types is identified in Massachusetts's Connecticut Valley historic contact period planning document (J. Bradley 1984). Distinctions are made between archeological sites, landscape features, and standing structures. Archeological sites include large settlement complexes, rockshelters, burials, tool preparation areas, and European domestic, commercial, industrial, and military sites. Landscape features such as native trails and fords, fish weirs, quarries, place names, and European roads, field division lines and ditches, burial grounds, and boundary markers are delineated as particular property types. The study also lists historically documented European house types not known to survive as standing structures in the area.

Many archeologists think that broad categories such as camp or town are too impressionistic or imprecise to adequately identify or organize the wide range of fragmentary and ambiguous physical attributes comprising most archeological resources. Others believe that highly specific categories discourage comparison. The system used to organize archeological

data in individual properties nominated through this theme study uses a two-tier system based on attributes discerned in existing site inventories to address both concerns. The first tier categorizes resources into four broad property types to facilitate comparative analysis. The second allows readers to combine a number of specific attributes to categorize particular property type forms. Not enough information presently is available to classify property types in most inventoried sites not nominated as NHLs in this Theme Study.

Archeologists evaluating the general significance of groups of related contributing archeological resources in nominated properties like those within the Nauset Archeological District, for instance, can use the property type concept to contrast wide ranges of resources across large regional areas. Other investigators interested in more specific problems can use this framework to show that historic contact period habitation sites at Nauset consist of single structures associated with a single component (Wampanoag culture) extending over a discontiguous area of more than 1,500 acres in an unplanned and unfortified community of sapling-framed round-houses occupied for long periods of time at all seasons of the year.

This system gives investigators the flexibility to compare a range of temporally, spatially, and functionally discrete property types at several analytic levels. At its broadest level, this system can be used to identify the presence or absence of certain property types in several places. At more specific levels of inquiry, the system helps investigators make finer comparisons contrasting precisely defined groupings of properties displaying particular attribute configurations.

PLEASE NOTE: The below listed classification framework has been developed for the present project. It does not represent current National Park Service or SHPO property type classification standards. Other agencies or in other projects may adopt, adapt, or ignore this framework as appropriate.

Theme Study Property Type Classification

GENERAL HABITATION SITE

```
Single Structure ----------------------Multiple Structure
Single Component-----------------------Multiple Component
Small ( < One Acre)--------------------Large ( > One Acre)
Short-Term ( < One Month)--------------Long-Term ( > One Month)
Seasonal-------------------------------Year-Round
Unplanned------------------------------Planned
Unfortified----------------------------Fortified
Autonomous Settlements-----------------Part of Settlement Hierarchy
Generalized Structures-----------------Specialized Structures
                                          Chief's Houses
                                          Storehouses
                                          Other
```

Unrestricted Intra- and Inter-Site Distribution of Rank-Denoting Artifacts -------Restricted Intra- and Inter-Site Distribution of Rank-Denoting Artifacts

Architectural Feature:
- Round-house
- Longhouse
- Vernacular European House
- High Style European House
- Mound
- Plaza
- Cemetery
- Other

Materials:
- Wood/Bark
- Grass
- Stone
- Earth
- Clay (Wattle-and-Daub)
- Brick
- Metal
- Glass
- Cloth/Canvas
- Other

Features:
- Post-Molds
- Storage/Refuse Pits
- Midden
- Hearths or Fireplaces
- Burials
  - Human
  - Other
- Lithic Scatters
- Ceramic Scatters
- Foundations or Other Structural Remains
- Cisterns, Wells, or Privy Holes
- Isolated Find Spots
- Other

SPECIFIC ECONOMIC ACTIVITY SITE

Single Function----------Multiple Function
Small (< One Acre)----------Large (> One Acre)
Short-Term (< One Month)----------Long-Term (> One Month)
Single Component----------Multiple Component
Domestic Production----------Extra-Household Production

Activity:
- Hunting and Trapping
- Fishing and Shellfishing
- Foraging
- Plant Cultivation

Exchange
Animal Husbandry
Manufacturing
Stone Wood Clay
Shell Bone Horn
Other
Unidentified

Process:
Extraction
Processing
Storage/Refuse
Redistribution or Trade
Other

Architectural Feature:
Round-house
Longhouse
Vernacular European House
High Style European House
Mound
Plaza
Cemetery
Other

Materials:
Wood/Bark
Grass
Stone
Earth
Clay (Wattle-and-Daub)
Brick
Metal
Glass
Cloth/Canvas
Other

Features:
Post-Molds
Storage/Refuse Pits
Midden
Hearths or Fireplaces
Burials
Human
Other
Lithic Scatters
Ceramic Scatters
Foundations or Other Structural Remains
Cisterns, Wells, or Privy Holes
Isolated Find Spots
Other

MILITARY SITES

```
Short-Term ( < One Month)----------Long-Term ( > One Month)
Small ( < One Acre)----------Large ( > One Acre)
Generalized----------Specialized
Fortified----------Unfortified
Type:                                  Battlefield
                                          Indian-Indian
                                          Indian-European
                                          European-European
                                       Fort
                                          Military Only
                                          Trade Fort
                                          Other
```

SPIRITUALLY SIGNIFICANT SITES

```
Spiritually Significant Structure or Structures
Spiritually Significant Locale
Petroglyph or Pictograph Site
Mortuary Site
   Single Interment----------Multiple Interment
   Primary Inhumation----------Secondary Inhumation
```

KNOWN AND EXPECTED PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION

The explosive growth of historic archeology and ethnohistory in the Northeast in recent years has increased interest in properties associated with historic contact at all levels of significance. Surveys, mitigation projects, and other activities undertaken by public and private sector archeologists and other preservationists have identified large numbers of properties dating to the historic contact period. Eight Hundred and forty properties primarily associated with Historic Contact Period Indian occupations and another 37 resources primarily associated with colonists are inventoried in this report. A tabulation of these properties and their designation statuses appears in the following pages.

GENERAL THEME STUDY INVENTORIED PROPERTY TABULATIONS

[Please Note: Numbers in Parentheses Represent NHLs on NR and other duplications]:

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing *NHL*	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
NORTH ATLANTIC				
Maine	59	14	0	Cushnoc Norridgewock Pemaquid Pentagoet
Western Abenaki	13	1	0	0
Eastern Massachusetts	88	5	0	Nauset
Narragansett	19	5	0	Cocumscussoc
Eastern Connecticut	10	3	0	Mashantucket Pequot Fort Shantok
Connecticut and Housatonic River Valleys	77	1(2)	Mission House	0
Eastern Long Island	12	1	0	Fort Corchaug
Mahican	11	1(2)	Mission House	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts
Munsee	43	3		Minisink Ward's Point
Sub-Total: Indian Props	332	34(36)	1(2)	13
Dutch-Indian Contact	1(3)	0(1)	0	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts
French-Indian Contact	2(5)	0(1)	Fort St. Frederic Fort Ticonderoga	Norridgewock Pentagoet

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
Anglo-Indian Contact	21(30)	5(17)	Fort Crown Point Fort Halifax Fort Ticonderoga Fort Western Gemeinhaus Huguenot Street Hurley Mission House Old Deerfield	Cocumscussoc Cushnoc Fort Orange Pemaquid Schuyler Flatts
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	24(38)	5(19)	10(11)	0(9)
Total North Atlantic (Less Duplications):	356	39	11	13
MIDDLE ATLANTIC				
Delaware	28	1(2)	Abbott Farm	0
Eastern Shore	7	2	0	Chicone
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys	28	5(6)	Accokeek Creek	Camden NHL St. Mary's City NHL
James and York Valleys	10	4(5)	Colonial NHP	Pamunkey Reservation
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys	9	3	0	0
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic	1	0	0	0
Sub-Total: Indian Props	83	15(18)	3	4

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
European-Indian	6(10)	1(8)	Fort Christina Printzhof Colonial NHP Conrad Weiser Home James Logan Home St. Mary's City	St. Mary's City NHL
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	6(10)	1(8)	5(6)	0(1)
Total: Mid-Atlantic	89	16	8	4
TRANS-APPALACHIA				
Mohawk	85	1(3)	0	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts Upper Castle
Oneida	20	0(1)	Oriskany Battlefield	0
Onondaga	29	0	0	0
Cayuga	19	0	0	0
Seneca	58	1(3)	Boughton Hill	Old Fort Niagara NHL
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment	30	0	0	0
Susquehanna Valley				
Susquehannocks	27	7	0	Byrd Leibhart
Delawares	8	0	0	0
Shawnees	7(8)	1	0	0
Conoys	4	0	0	0
Tuteloes	1	0	0	0
Multicultural	3(4)	1	0	0
Unidentified	36	0	0	0
Susquehanna Total	88(12)	9	0	1

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
Maryland and Virginia Upland	17	3	0	0
Appalachian Highlands				
Monongahelas	42	1	0	0
Delawares	9	0	0	0
Shawnees	3(5)	1	0	0
Mingos	0(1)	0	0	0
Wyandots	1	0	0	0
Multicultural	2(5)	0	0	0
Unidentified	22	0	0	0
Appalachian High. Total	79(11)	2	0	0
Sub-Total: Indian Props	425	16	2	3
Dutch-Indian	0(2)	0(1)	0	Fort Orange Schuyler Flatts
French-Indian	0(6)	0	Fort St. Frederic Fort Ticonderoga Old Fort Niagara	Old Fort Niagara NHL
Anglo-Indian	7(20)	1	Bushy Run Battle Fort Crown Point Fort Johnson Fort Klock Fort Necessity NB Fort Stanwix Fort Ticonderoga Johnson Hall New Town Battlefield Old Fort Niagara Oriskany Battlefield	Fort Orange Old Fort Niagara NHL Schuyler Flatts
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	7(28)	1(2)	12(4)	0
Total: Trans-Appal.	432	17	14	3

Regions & Countries	Props	NR	Existing NHL	New NHL Nomination or Thematic Upgrade
Sub-Total: North Atlantic	356	39	11	13
Sub-Total: Mid-Atlantic	89	16	8	4
Sub-Total: Trans-Appal.	432	17	14	3
Sub-Total: Indian Props	840	65	6	20
Sub-Total: Euro-Indian	37	7	27	0
Total: Northeast	877	72	33	20

RESEARCH NEEDS AND QUESTIONS

NORTHEASTERN CONTACT RESEARCH

Archeological, archival, and other materials summarized in this document show that a vast corpus of data exists to identify, evaluate, designate, and treat properties containing resources associated with contact between natives and newcomers in the Northeast. Archeological evidence of contact has been found in nearly every area of the region. Indian accounts telling of the coming of foreigners to their lands have remained staples of native oral tradition up to the present day (Axtell 1989; Simmons 1986). Native Northeastern material culture has fascinated Americans ever since European travellers first met Indian people. Written accounts of Indian appearance, tools, foods, social life, and other aspects of native life were the stuff of American literature long before James Fenimore Cooper popularized the romantic image of the Woodlands Indian in his novel "Last of the Mohicans" (Cooper 1826).

The Written Record

Although Europeans are known to have sailed to waters off the Gulf of St. Lawrence before 1500, Giovanni da Verrazzano wrote the first known account of direct contact with Indian people in the region (Verrazzano 1970). Verrazzano and other early voyagers were followed by colonial entrepreneurs whose promotional advertisements describing the virtues of newly founded colonies often included descriptions of Indians of the country. The more observant of these, such as Samuel de Champlain, Marc Lescarbot, William Penn, Roger Williams, and William Wood, wrote accounts that remain indispensable sources for understanding Indian culture and customs during the earliest phases of historic contact (Champlain 1922-1938; Lescarbot 1907-1914; Penn 1912; R. Williams 1973; W. Wood 1634).

Military men fighting against Indian people, such as Virginia's John Smith and New England's John Mason, also wrote accounts of their exploits (e.g. Barbour 1969; J. Mason 1736; J. Smith 1624). Politicians and statesmen, like as New York's Cadwallader Colden, Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin, and Virginia's Robert Beverley, expanded on these and other sources as they wrote their own political histories based on provincial documents and eyewitness accounts during the 18th-century (Beverley (1705) 1947; Colden 1747; Franklin 1764).

Captivity narratives recounting actual or imagined experiences of prisoners taken by Indians in wars with colonists also were widely printed and avidly read (Washburn 1975-1979). Many scholars today regard these extraordinarily popular accounts as the first distinctively American literary form (Levernier and Cohen 1977; Vaughan and Clark 1981). More than a few of these narratives were inaccurate or sensationalized, and many were blatant fabrications. The better examples of this genre, such as James Smith's account of his captivity among Ohio Valley Indian people or Mary Jemison's story of her life among the Senecas, furnished unparalleled insights into many aspects of Northeastern Indian life (Seaver 1824; J. Smith 1799).

Scholarly organizations, such as Philadelphia's American Philosophical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, began sponsoring research on Indian history and culture during the late 1700s. Since that time, succeeding generations of investigators have built upon scholarly foundations first laid by such pioneering early 19th-century students of Northeastern Indian life as Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, government Indian agent Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and ethnographer Lewis Henry Morgan (Heckewelder 1819; Schoolcraft 1851-1857; L. Morgan 1851). Importantly, several of their anthropological successors, such as J.N.B. Hewitt (Tuscarora), William Jones (Fox), and Arthur C. Parker (Seneca), were themselves Indian people.

Scholars inspired by the example of Morgan and other ethnological pioneers have written thousands of studies based upon archival sources or ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the region during the past century (Murdock and O'Leary 1975). Specialists fascinated by contact continue to gather together compendia of written records documenting relations with Northeastern Indian people. The better known of these, such as the "Jesuit Relations" and the "Ohio Valley-Great Lakes Indian Ethnohistory Archive" on file at Indiana University's Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, are essential reading in the subject (D. Miller 1979; Purchas 1625; Quinn, et al. 1979; Thwaites 1896-1901). Major microfilm compendia, such as the Newberry Library's "Documentary History of the Iroquois" project (a guide to which may be found in Jennings, et al. 1985), the University of Wisconsin's Lyman Draper Papers, and the Moravian Archives (Fliegel 1970), are particularly crucial sources of information.

Investigators using these and other written sources have produced a vast secondary literature of hundreds of books, monographs, and dissertations, thousands of articles, and tens of

thousands of unpublished reports and scholarly papers. Citations to some of the more prominent of these studies may be found in such above mentioned sources as Murdock and O'Leary's "Ethnographic Bibliography of North America" and Trigger's "Northeast" volume of the "Handbook of North American Indians" and more specialized surveys like Newberry Library critical bibliographies written by Frank Porter, Neal Salisbury, Elisabeth Tooker, and C.A. Weslager (Porter 1979; Salisbury 1982b; E. Tooker 1978c; Weslager 1978b). Journals such as Ethnohistory, Man in the Northeast, and UCLA's American Indian Culture and Research Journal regularly publish articles dealing with Northeastern historic contact. Although history journals such as the William and Mary Quarterly and the Journal of American History increasingly published ethnohistorical articles, major journals in other fields presently do not regularly print articles on historic contact in the region.

Most of these writings traditionally examine groups, events, or issues. Scholarly studies written on the biographical level generally have focused upon more prominent figures like Sir William Johnson (Hamilton 1976) and Joseph Brant (Kelsay 1984). Up until recently, biographies of less well known people generally were the province of local historians (Huston 1950; Sipe 1927). Since then, scholars are increasingly focusing upon such largely overlooked historical figures as Powhatan leader Opechancanough (Fausz 1981), the Mohawk medicine woman Coocoochee (H. Tanner 1979), Moses Tunda Tatamy (W. Hunter 1974), Pennacook leaders Wanalancet and Kancagamus (Calloway 1988), and New Jersey Indian leader Taphow (Grumet 1988). These and other scholars coordinating biographical data with other information are developing more detailed views emphasizing the complexity and variety of historic contact events in the Northeast.

The Archeological Record

Up until recently, most scholarly studies conducted in the region centered upon ethnographic accounts or prehistoric reconstructions. Minimal attention was paid to the region's historic archeological resources. Stimulated by the general expansion in archeological interest nationwide, scholars have worked to change this pattern by reporting on excavations at hundreds of archeological sites associated with the historic contact period throughout the Northeast. Despite this fact, relatively few sites were extensively studied until the 1970s. Even fewer were reported in scientific journals (Gibson 1980; W. Ritchie 1954; Simmons 1970; Solecki 1950). Until recently, most archeological projects were sparked by scholarly or avocational interests. Today, most reports publish results of surveys or salvage excavations recovering information from threatened sites.

Several factors account for the slow development of historic contact period archeology in the region. As elsewhere, personnel and funding shortages restricted the scope and intensity of archeological investigations. Natural processes of erosion or decay and cultural factors such as development and looting destroyed many sites. Insufficient amounts of institutional support and scholarly interest in historically-oriented anthropological archeology in the United States also discourage research in the region (Fitzhugh 1985).

Renewed interest in regional archeology has overcome many of these obstacles in recent years. Inspired by this recent resurgence, archeologists are turning their attention toward studies of historic contact period resources in the Northeast. Although much of this work is done by professional archeologists, large numbers of avocationalists also continue to make significant contributions. The work of such investigators as the late Charles F. Wray, who developed the historic Seneca sequence (Wray 1973 and 1985), Monte Bennett, who has identified many sites in Oneida country (M. Bennett 1973 and 1979), and Mohawk Valley archeologist Donald A. Rumrill (Rumrill 1985), are benchmarks in the field. Studies conducted by these and other investigators have resulted in listings of many archeological sites on state inventories since the 1960s. Findings from these surveys have become integral parts of a growing literature synthesizing archeological, documentary, and ethnographic data. Among the more prominent of these are studies by Ceci (1977), Engelbrecht (1985), Kraft (1986), Potter (1982), Salwen (1978), P. Thomas (1979), Trigger (1976), Turner (1976), and L. Williams (1972).

Investigators publish their findings in many venues. Many produce reports for professional journals. Others publish in various series edited by state or regional archeological societies. More than a few appear in the form of "gray literature" contract reports (see below). Other information appears in newspapers, magazines, or local histories. Care must be taken to substantiate all information encountered in these latter sources. Many are written by uninformed sources. Others, based on local folklore, hearsay, documentary inferences, or inadequately synthesized data, must be verified independently. Reanalysis of the 59 properties listed as coastal New York historic sites by the late Lynn Ceci, for example, has shown that more than half are either post 18th-century deposits or exist only as otherwise unlocated Indian place names listed in colonial maps and documents (Ceci 1980).

Most archeological resources in the Northeast are nondescript artifact scatters of indeterminate age and unclear cultural affiliation. Each state lists hundreds of such sites in its inventories. Although a certain percentage of these resources may date to the historic contact period, sites lacking diagnostic artifacts cannot be definitively associated with historic Indian people. Developments in chemical analysis and other techniques may allow archeologists to more confidently make such connections in future. Until then, deposits lacking diagnostic time-marker artifacts or datable organic materials cannot be associated with historic contact or any other time period with any degree of reliability.

Survey inventories generally represent the single most reliable source of information on historic contact period cultural resources. All SHPOs and many museums and universities maintain site inventories. Although many of these inventories contain files on tens of thousands of sites, few list more than a small number of historic contact period properties. Several factors account for this state of affairs. First, many areas potentially containing historic contact resources have not yet been surveyed by SHPOs. Few SHPOs have specifically targeted historic contact resources in thematic surveys. Presently focusing upon

prehistoric archeological or historic architectural resources, such surveys frequently do not inventory historic contact period properties.

This does not mean that states and other agencies have not gathered data on the subject. Much of this material has been published in limited-distribution reports known as "gray literature." The bibliographic section of The National Park Service's computerized "National Archeological Database" (**NADB**) provides a guide to much of this literature. The NADB bibliographic section can be a significant research tool. A recent query of the 9,864 records on file in the 15 SHPO Offices located within the study area revealed the existence of 82 documents filed under keyword references "protohistoric" and "historic Native American" in the current MARO NADB database Although many of these records were planning documents or historic surveys, 11 contained otherwise unavailable information on Historic Contact period sites.

Information on Historic Contact resources inventoried in state and other surveys also can be hard to find. Much inventory data is entered on report sheets, file cards, and other forms of "hard copy." Searches conducted in manual inventories consume considerable amounts of time. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources manual file inventory alone contains more than 20,000 entries. Size is not the only obstacle facing researchers. Although forms generally list property time periods, most file systems are not intensively cross-indexed. Others are plagued by significant numbers of data entry errors. As a result, researchers often must go through entire file systems in order to find what they are looking for.

Computerization solves many of these problems. Most SHPOs and other facilities are computerized. Despite this fact, few currently operate automated site-specific databases. Most of those that do have not yet completely transferred data from earlier systems or refined program and data retrieval routines. More than a few concurrently run different databases. Funding, personnel, and technical considerations also influence computerized data retrieval speed and efficiency.

These problems are exacerbated by other shortcomings. Many computerized inventories simply automate existing manual files. Such databases often continue to omit critical information like property type and cultural affiliation not listed in hard files. Studies systematically identifying time periods or property types generally are not conducted in conjunction with data automation projects. Few computerization programs require data update or field-verification. In Connecticut, for instance, 41 of 64 historic contact period resource files enumerated in one SHPO survey search do not identify property type, cultural affiliation, or chronological association (Poirier 1990). Many of these properties are listed as disturbed or destroyed. Most consist of small or scattered deposits and few are known to contain diagnostic artifacts or datable deposits.

Many inventoried sites cannot yield additional information. Large numbers have been obliterated by construction or vandalism. Many collections gathered from sites tested or excavated prior to destruction have been lost or dispersed. Of the 64 above mentioned Connecticut historic contact period sites, for example, 23 are listed as destroyed. Another four have been noted as significantly disturbed. Of those thought to retain intact deposits, only nine properties are reported in good condition (Poirier 1990).

Many factors have contributed to this state of affairs. Most Northeastern cities and towns have grown up on or around historic Indian settlements. Other sites, located on fertile croplands, have been damaged or destroyed by farming. Gravel quarries, landfills, and other industrial developments also have claimed their share of historic contact period cultural resources in the region.

Locations of many historic contact period resources near bays and rivers have made such resources particularly susceptible to damage from shoreline development and erosion. Many historic aboriginal sites in and around New York Harbor, for example, have been scoured away or lie buried beneath layers of fill and rip rap. In Maine, beach erosion seriously threatens most surviving coastal archeological sites (Bourque 1989b). Artifact hunters also continue to loot historic contact period sites. Motivated by the desire to possess a bit of history in the form of glass beads and other objects, many of these people seek out historic contact period sites. The very rarity of these materials increases their value in the booming artifact market.

The destruction of historic contact sites is affecting the ability of scholars to effectively reconstruct past lifeways by correlating archeological and historic data. Many of the earliest of these efforts used the already mentioned direct historical approach to identify ethnicities of site occupants. Arthur C. Parker, for example, used historic documents and cartographic materials, associated a site in Ripley, New York with historic Erie Indian people (Parker 1907). Another early practitioner, Donald A. Cadzow, used written documents to link archeological materials found along the lower reaches of the Susquehanna River with historic Susquehannocks (Cadzow 1936).

Today, archeologists directly or indirectly inspired by New Archeology's call for greater emphasis on scientific understanding of culture and society, are employing increasingly sophisticated interdisciplinary techniques to better understand archeological manifestations relating to such sociocultural intangibles as ideology, symbolism, kinship organization, and spiritual beliefs. Trigger's recent article, "Prehistoric Social and Political Organization: An Iroquoian Case Study," contains a useful overview of methods used by archeologists to identify and analyze material evidence of prehistoric sociocultural lifeways (Trigger 1981).

Many archeologists have long used assemblages of distinctive types of clay pots and stone tools as socio-cultural indicators. Investigators commonly regard perceived similarities in pottery types and attributes as indices of ethnic identity or cultural affiliation. Most focus

upon differences in pottery shape, decoration, temper, or paste. Less widely known are studies correlating impressed cordage twist directions with particular cultural traditions or time periods (Carr and Maslowski 1991; Maslowski 1984b).

Archeologists often regard discoveries of "exotic" pottery and stone tools more commonly found elsewhere as evidence of intercommunity trade, exchange, warfare, or post-marital residence patterns. Concentrations of ceramic artifacts associated with women or chipped stone artifacts believed to be residues of more masculine activities within particular living floors or activity areas frequently have been interpreted as evidence of work team organization, indications of sexual divisions of labor, or intimations of family, household, or community organization.

Many scholars study human burials containing grave goods and physical remains to discover new information on individual and social patterns of age, diet, and health. This information can provide vital data needed to address current health problems. Recent studies conducted on archeological remains associated with ancestors of modern Pima people in the Southwest, for example, have found evidence linking incidences of diabetes among Pima people, among the highest in the world, to historic dietary changes.

Studies of human remains in association with other archeological evidence also can be used to develop better understandings of personal or tribal economic, social, or political life. Archeologists often believe that burials containing remains of healthy well nourished people accompanied by numerous or costly funerary offerings are graves of individuals possessing higher social status than those not possessing such attributes. Following this line of reasoning, archeologist Martha L. Sempowski has suggested that the more poorly furnished graves of early historic Seneca women do not reflect the higher status attributed to them in ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources (Sempowski 1986). Another archeologist, Elise M. Brenner, has explained variations in the number and quality of grave goods in different 17th-century New England Indian graves as post-mortem displays of power and wealth produced during a time of profound social and political change (Brenner 1988).

Burial data can reveal other information. Sempowski suggests that detected physical similarities shared by individuals buried near one another may be indicators of marriage or post-marital residence patterns (Sempowski 1986). Seneca burials containing groups of physically similar men, for example, may consist of members of a closely related gene pool suggesting a patri-centered social order. Excavated burials containing graves of physically similar women, on the other hand, may represent evidence of an uxorilocal residence pattern requiring men to move to households of wives and their female kin. Citing a 17th-century Jesuit report noting that Indian people put European goods into graves for the use of ancestors who had died before such goods became available in this world and the next, Dean Snow has raised an important cautionary note about the usage of funerary offerings in analyses of status and role (Snow 1992).

Efforts by archeologists to reconstruct aspects of Indian social structure and political life from fragmentary archeological deposits have significantly raised the level of scholarly discourse throughout the Northeast. Burials present particularly vexing challenges to archeologists. Legislative acts regulating treatment of human remains is increasingly affecting the ways archeologists study burials. Physical characteristics of burials themselves present further challenges. Preservation conditions differ widely. The circumstances of burial, moreover, vary tremendously. Information contained within graves may reflect ideals rather than realities. Certain societies emphasizing economic redistribution in this world or social equity in the next, for example, may furnish graves of less influential people more richly than those of individuals who wielded greater power or influence in life.

Deposits believed to preserve remains of other aspects of social or political life are subject to similar vagaries. Archeological sites are dynamic locales. Almost every archeological locale is the site of housecleaning, reuse, and episodes of renovation or rebuilding. Circumstances of abandonment also vary considerably. Post-depositional disturbances, such as rodent activities, frost heaves, and alluviation, for their part, can alter locations of ceramic or lithic concentrations thought to represent work areas or labor organizations.

Natural forces of dissolution and decay at work in every site particularly affect the visibility of deposits containing evidence of less tangible elements of culture such as social role or political organization. Archeologist E. Randolph Turner, for example, has shown how deterioration of perishable featherwork, textiles, and wooden carvings and structures used by Powhatan Indian people as status markers has made it difficult to archeologically corroborate extensive ethnohistorical documentation of the politically complex Powhatan chiefdom. Powhatans did not construct elaborate earthworks or other architectural monuments. Their craftspeople did not produce large amounts of sumptuary metalwork or stone jewelry. Thus, although colonial records clearly show that Powhatan socio-political organization was complex and highly hierarchical, presently available archeological evidence suggests a more egalitarian social order (Turner 1986).

Archeological materials believed to have the capacity to reveal chronological information also must be used with care. Triangular stone projectile points or knives (often notched in the west), collared or collarless globular or conoidal shell or grit-tempered clay pots, clay and stone pipes, and disc-shaped or tubular shell beads generally are regarded as the predominant diagnostic artifact types associated with most late prehistoric Northeastern cultures. Certain attributes of lithic materials, such as the shape, dimensions, or characteristics of knapped edges of triangular chipped stone projectile points and knives, may represent temporal indicators. Findings of finely crafted small triangular chipped stone projectile points or knives indistinguishable from those traditionally associated with Late Woodland occupations in early deposits containing Beekman, Hunter Brook, Jack's Reef, and other components, however, calls the diagnostic efficacy of such artifacts into question (Dincauze 1976; Kraft 1975; Stewart 1990; Wingerson and Wingerson 1976).

At the present time, archeologists generally regard aboriginal pottery as the only class of artifacts capable of revealing particular cultural or ethnic identities or affiliations. Along with European goods, aboriginal ceramics also can be used as diagnostic chronological markers. Although great advances have been made in recent years, much remains to be done in this field. As mentioned earlier, developments in artifact typology, dating techniques, and chemical analysis promise to provide archeologists with more and better cultural and temporal diagnostic indicators (Kuhn 1985; Kuhn and Lanford 1987).

The results of research conducted by professional and avocational investigators strongly suggest that many native people encountered by 16th-century European explorers had been living in their traditional homelands for more than a millennium before 1492. A great deal of speculation has been made concerning the origins of historic Northeastern tribes. Investigators have long tried to link prehistoric cultures to historically chronicled tribes, Eastern Hemisphere civilizations, or other-worldly visitors.

The overwhelming preponderance of evidence indicates that historic native Northeastern societies developed from local antecedents. Pottery type seriations performed by archeologists William A. Ritchie and Richard S. MacNeish, for their part, permitted formulation of the **In Situ** hypothesis holding that tribes constituting the historic Iroquois League of Five Nations probably had lived in New York for at least 400 years prior to European contact (MacNeish 1952; W. Ritchie and MacNeish 1949). On or about the same time, archeologist Donald A. Cadzow, noting the presence of European materials in many lower Susquehanna Valley Indian sites, began to link his archeological discoveries with the historic Susquehannocks (Cadzow 1936).

Museum Collections

Thousands of objects collected from Northeastern Indian people presently are in museums, libraries, historical societies, and private collections. The earliest of these collections, gathered together by 17th and 18th-century visitors to the region, generally are in Europe. Collections gathered in more recent times, many containing paintings or artifacts specially produced for ethnographers by native people, may be found in American and Canadian facilities.

The largest of these institutions, like the National Museum of the American Indian, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the American Museum of Natural History, and Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History, employ curatorial specialists to catalogue, conserve, exhibit, and study the vast Northeastern collections under their care. These collections are an enormous and relatively untapped source for future studies of Northeastern historic contact.

Linguistic Studies

Many anthropologists use linguistic data to reconstruct patterns of Northeastern Indian socio-political life. Archeologist Stuart Fiedel, for example, employs glottochronological techniques measuring what are believed to be constant rates of linguistic change to derive approximate determinations of how long speakers of related Eastern Algonquian languages have been separated from one another (Fiedel 1987). Other studies, such as Ives Goddard's and Kathleen Bragdon's analyses of Massachusett texts (Goddard and Bragdon 1988), combine linguistic data with ethnographic, archival, and other materials to construct configurations of aboriginal culture and society.

Oral Literature

Although most archeologists now work closely with historians and ethnologists, few consult folklorists or other specialists in oral traditions. Most students of Indian narratives tend to focus upon symbolic or literary values (Foster 1974; Thompson 1955). Increasing numbers of investigators inspired by work in other disciplines are beginning to study Northeastern narratives for light they can shed on Indian perspectives of historic contact events. Gordon M. Day's analysis of a traditional Abenaki eye-witness account of Robert Rogers's 1759 raid on the town of St. Francis is an outstanding example of the potential usefulness of Indian narratives in contact studies (Day 1962). The text gathered by Day tells a much different story than the tale of colonial triumph published by the colonial ranger. This story, told to the informant's mother by her mother during the 19th-century, reveals that Rogers's Rangers failed to achieve surprise and succeeded in only partially destroying the Abenaki town before withdrawing precipitately in advance of an imminent counterattack. Studies such as Day's and William S. Simmons's landmark survey of the adaptive significance of New England Indian oral traditions provide a glimpse of the potential insights to be obtained from native narratives (Simmons 1986).

The Architectural Record

Relatively little attention has been directed towards architectural evidence of historic contact in the Northeast since the publication of pioneering studies by David Bushnell (1908), Lewis Henry Morgan (1881), and Charles C. Willoughby (1906). Building materials used by Indian people to construct their houses were flammable and rotted easily. Susceptible to decay and vulnerable to accidental house fires and enemy incendiaries, most Northeastern Indian buildings and structures left little more than postmold patterns, hearths, pits, and foundations as physical evidence of their existence. Although written documentation of Indian associations with colonial trading posts, houses, forts, and other properties generally is skimpy and incomplete, other sources, such as maps and journals, more amply record locations of Northeastern Indian towns and houses (Nabokov and Easton 1989).

Environmental Studies

Renewed interest in environmental studies has revealed important new facts about ecological relationships in the Northeast during the historic contact period. The work of historians William Cronon and Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. has had a particularly strong impact upon studies detailing Indian and European environmental influences in colonial New England (Cronon 1983; Crosby 1986). A recent study examines ecological relationships between Indian people, colonists, and African Americans along the South Atlantic seaboard below Pennsylvania (T. Silver 1990). Cronon and Richard White have identified three major themes in the environmental history of Indian-colonial relations (R. White and Cronon 1988). Both scholars have noted the enduring persistence of myths identifying Indian people as natural conservationists inhabiting a pristine wilderness. Calling attention to the growing recognition of Indian influence upon the historical landscape of North America, they have noted the increasing inclusion of environmental change as a factor in studies of Indian-colonial relations.

Ethnographic Studies

As the preceding pages show, most interpretations of past lifeways in the Northeast are guided by ethnographic findings. Scholars gathering information by direct observation or from the memories of informants have conducted ethnographic fieldwork among Northeastern Indian people since the 19th-century. Much of the history of anthropological field inquiry in the region is ably summarized in Tooker (1978a). Tooker traces developments in Northeastern ethnographic fieldwork from early contact through the Jeffersonian years and the mid to late 19th century research of Lewis Henry Morgan and Bureau of American Ethnology investigators to the 20th-century field studies of Alanson Skinner, Frank Speck, A. Irving Hallowell, A.F.C. Wallace, and their colleagues and successors.

The tradition of ethnographic scholarship has broadened in recent years. Like Jay Miller, who has worked with the late Nora Thompson Dean and other Oklahoma Delaware Indian elders to obtain new insights into traditional views of family life, social organization, and religion, anthropologists continue to conduct ethnographic inquiries (Miller 1973). Increasing numbers of scholars from other fields also have turned their attention toward Northeastern field studies in recent years. Historians studying existing ethnographic sources today work to develop more historically sensitive approaches to ethnography in the field and in study centers like the Newberry Library's D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian in Chicago.

Historical linguists also are increasingly conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Linguist Michael K. Foster, for example, has worked with the Cayuga chief Jacob E. Thomas to reconstruct diplomatic protocols in four speech events documenting councils held between Iroquois people and colonial authorities dating from 1736 to 1756 (M. Foster 1984). Growing numbers of ethnoarcheologists, for their part, are using ethnographic observations to

construct middle range theories reconstructing and explaining archeological data (Binford 1981 and 1983; Trigger 1991b).

Ethnohistory

Investigators have struggled to use ethnographic, written, oral, linguistic, architectural, environmental, and other data to find and understand archeological deposits for more than three centuries. Most recently, ethnohistorians combining anthropological and historiographical skills increasingly have been working to develop interdisciplinary approaches need to understand late prehistoric and early historic Indian life in the region (Axtell 1981; Simmons 1986; Trigger 1985). Many of these scholars "upstream" findings of ethnographic fieldworkers by tracing written or oral evidence of socio-political continuity and change from the present to the past. As William Fenton, its most articulate and influential advocate has noted (Fenton 1957:20), this technique, also known as the "Direct Historical Approach," was first employed systematically by archeologists William Duncan Strong and Waldo R. Wedel in their reconstructions of Indian culture history sequences on the Great Plains (Strong 1940 and 1953; Wedel 1936 and 1938).

Fenton and Arthur Parker, the first modern anthropologists to rigorously use this technique in the Northeast, produced comparative studies cross-referencing archeological and ethnographic field data with archival records that have become models of ethnohistorical scholarship (Fenton 1967 and 1978; Parker 1907 and 1916). By contrasting written records with environmental, geographical, and archeological data, Parker, Fenton, and their successors have provided significant insights into aspects of war, trade, diplomacy, settlement strategies, and other larger-scale social and political patterns. Such studies have had less success in illuminating more poorly documented and less publicly expressed smaller-scale aspects of culture. Contextual archeologists increasingly emphasizing studies of hithertofore ignored or overlooked people, practices, and processes promise to provide new ethnohistorical insights into small-scale cultural phenomena.

THE NHL THEMATIC FRAMEWORK AS AN OUTLINE OF NATIONALLY SIGNIFICANT RESEARCH NEEDS AND QUESTIONS

The NHL thematic framework is a supple outline that can as easily serve as a comprehensive outline of nationally significant research needs and questions as a format for inventorying regional NHL and NPS park system property thematic representation. The following section employs this framework to assess the current state of knowledge, identify research needs and questions, and determine the numbers of nominated and currently designated NHLs associated with each thematic element.

Theme I: **Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations**

Sub-Theme I.D: **Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations**

Facet I.D.1: **Native Cultural Adaptations at Contact.**

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i: **Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments**

Nearly everything we know about the earliest native Northeastern cultural adaptations at contact comes from archeological sources. Some archeologists believe that ancestors of Indian people encountered by the earliest European explorers may have been living in the region for tens or even hundreds of thousands of years. Most evidence, nevertheless, presently indicates that the story of Northeastern native cultural development began around 11,500 years ago. Although contacts between Indian people and Norse voyagers and others almost surely occurred before Columbus's expedition, nearly all specialists agree that Indian cultures generally followed their own independent courses of development during the years preceding the most recent period of contact.

Archeologists also generally agree that most native Northeasterners had been living much as their ancestors had for hundreds of years when Western European sailors made their first landfalls on North Atlantic shores during the late 1400s. Most of these people followed ways of life based upon economies centering around collecting, fishing, hunting, and food production. Many plants were used for food, pharmaceuticals, clothing, building materials, and implements. Wood products were used for housing, canoes, and a wide range of tools. Wild plants were gathered, and cultivated corn, beans, and squash dominated Indian diets wherever conditions for their production or importation were favorable.

Most late prehistoric Northeastern people used bows and arrows tipped with antler tines or small triangular chipped stone projectile points in hunting and warfare. Inhabitants of more northerly parts of New England continued to use variants of earlier stemmed or notched projectile point types. Deer was the dominant game animal hunted with the bow and arrow and other methods throughout much of the region. Other large animals, such as bear, elk, moose, and bison were hunted wherever they lived. Smaller game, such as beaver, raccoon, and birds, also were taken. Fish generally were caught with barbless hooks, spears, nets, traps, or weirs.

New forms of lighter and stronger clay pots appeared throughout much of the region during this period. Most were strengthened with shell or crushed stone temper. Collarless or slightly collared conoidal to globular forms predominated along the Middle Atlantic coast from Long Island to Chesapeake Bay. Closely related variants, sometimes surmounted by castellated collars, became popular throughout the Trans-Appalachian and North Atlantic regions.

People made increasing numbers of clay, stone, and shell beads, figurines, and other decorative objects during the period's final phases. Clay and stone pipes used to smoke mixtures of cultivated tobacco and aromatic herbs and barks also were widely used. Painted pictographs and petroglyphs pecked into stone symbolically depicted people, animals, and other things. Frequently located along well-travelled waterways or paths, rock art pecked or painted onto boulders or cliffsides marked places recognized as spiritually significant or politically important.

Archeologists have discovered a wide variety of late prehistoric settlement patterns in the region. Many ancestors of historic Iroquoians, for example, built large towns in southern Ontario and central portions of New York and Pennsylvania. More than a few of these settlements were protected by wooden stockades. Archeologist James Tuck has noted that Onondaga Iroquois towns gradually came to contain larger numbers of smaller longhouses during terminal Late Woodland and early historic times between 1300 and 1600 (Tuck 1971). Tuck believes that this trend may reflect tribal formation, lineage segmentation, and smaller family sizes associated with changing post-marital residence rules, settlement shifts, and depopulation. Attributing these changes to increasing incidences of warfare and epidemic disease associated with demographic shifts and socio-economic intensification, he and other scholars believe that similar processes may have stimulated similar developments among the Hurons, the Petuns, Saint Lawrence Iroquoians, and other people living in and around the traditional Iroquois heartland during late prehistoric and early historic times (Engelbrecht 1985).

Most people residing north and east of the Trans-Appalachian region, by contrast, frequently lived in less centralized communities consisting of bark or grass-covered roundhouses or longhouses. These settlements, sometimes located in regions not favorable to corn cultivation, generally were occupied for shorter periods of time than those built by their Iroquoian neighbors. Rather than maintain single permanent townsites, people belonging to such communities often moved to various fishing places, hunting camps, or other locales.

Farther west, people living in the Ohio Valley in close contact with more southerly Mississippian societies began moving into large permanent towns sometime after 900. Many of these more complex societies persisted into early historic times. Archeological evidence indicates that many Ohio Valley communities were stratified societies. Life in these communities centered around large nucleated towns of thatch-roofed wattle-and-daub walled houses. Many of these towns were fortified, and most were centrally planned. These town dwellers generally engaged in somewhat more intensive forms of food production than those practiced by people living farther east. Recent research that contacts between Ohio Valley and more easterly Indian people resulted in far-reaching transformations affecting life throughout the region.

No currently designated NHL or park unit currently represents these thematic elements. Several sites, such as the Accokeek Creek NHL in Maryland and Angel Mounds NHL in

Indiana, contain late prehistoric deposits whose temporal span may extend into the early 1500s. No materials of European origin or radiometrically assayed deposits clearly dating to protohistoric or historic times have yet been clearly associated with aboriginal materials dating to late prehistoric times at these or other NHLs in the Northeast.

Six properties nominated in this theme study contain components associated with this sub-facet. The Mashantucket Pequot, Minisink, Nauset, and Ward's Point properties exemplify late prehistoric and protohistoric adaptations to North Atlantic environments. Chicone and the St. Mary's City NHL thematic upgrade document protohistoric Indian life along the Middle Atlantic coast.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

None

Proposed NHL Designations:

Chicone, MD
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NJ
Nauset, MA
Ward's Point, NY

Facet I.D.2: Establishing Intercultural Relations

As the preceding section shows, archeological evidence documenting initial encounters between natives and newcomers in the Northeast is fragmentary. Artifact and deposit forms and functions associated with early contact in the region are incompletely known and poorly understood. European goods presently provide the most readily recognizable material evidence of early intercultural relations. Much of this evidence survives in the form of glass beads, iron celts, axes, needles, knives and scissors, iron, copper, or brass utensils, and copper or brass rolled tubular beads, spirals, hoops, sheets, and awls. Many of these artifacts have been recovered from burials or disturbed contexts. Large numbers have been carelessly gathered by casual collectors, souvenir hunters, and other looters. Relatively few have been systematically excavated from intact primary deposits.

Written records and oral traditions often extensively document intercultural relations during this period. Many of these sources are compiled in Quinn, Quinn, and Hillier (1979). Although most are fragmentary, many of these documents record the effects of transitory contacts between Indian people and Spanish, Basque, Portuguese, French, Dutch, Swedish, and English explorers, traders, and raiders along the Atlantic coast. Maps, drawings, and descriptions penned by visitors provide the first glimpses of Indian houses and settlements in the region. Maps drafted during the early decades of the 17th-century contain the first references to tribal groups such as the Pamunkeys, Manhattans, Iroquois, Wampanoags, and Massachusetts. The first written travelers accounts describing native customs, houselife, and ecological relationships also appear during this period.

Twenty-four currently designated NHLs or NPS park units contain properties dating to the earliest periods of historic contact in the Northeast. Few of these properties directly document or interpret regional intercultural relations. Only one of these properties, the Seneca town of Ganandagan or Ganagaro, listed in NPS files as Boughton Hill NHL, is an Indian community. Four are battlefields. The rest are European forts, missions, or colonial houses.

Colonial National Historical Park contains deposits associated with the establishment of the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. The Fort Christina and Printzhof NHLs represent places where initial contacts occurred between native people and Swedish colonists along the lower Delaware River Valley during the 1630s. Other properties represent later phases of intercultural contact.

Each of the properties nominated in this theme study provides significant new information associated with this facet. Some of these, such as Nauset, and St. Mary's City NHL, represent the earliest phases of contact in their respective regions. Others, such as Camden NHL, Fort Shantok, Mashantucket Pequot, and Pamunkey, are associated with later phases of intercultural relations.

Most properties nominated under this facet are Indian habitation sites. Ten, however, are primarily associated with Europeans. Unlike earlier NHLs dating to this period, the majority of these latter properties are trading posts or diplomatic centers. Seven of these properties; Cocumscussoc, Cushnoc, Fort Orange, Pemaquid, Pentagoet, and Schuyler Flatts, NY, are located in the North Atlantic sub-region. St. Mary's City NHL contains deposits associated with early relations in the Middle Atlantic sub-region while Old Fort Niagara NHL represents similar developments in the Trans-Appalachian region.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY
Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.2.a: Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers

Many written references document Indian trapping and fishing for newcomers. Most ethnohistoric studies assessing these activities emphasize exploitative aspects of this relationship.

Nearly all call attention to their many deleterious impacts upon native provisioners. Most archeological evidence relating to this thematic element occurs in the form of metal traps, fish hooks, gunflints, musket balls, gun parts, and other fishing and trapping gear. Although the circumstances of their use or deposition generally are unclear, new research may provide insights into the causes and consequences of Indian employment as trappers or fisherfolk.

Historic documents record that Indian people hunted and fished for newcomers at each below listed currently designated NHL property and park unit. Despite this fact, archeologists have few identifiable archeological vestiges of these activities at these locales. All nominated properties contain deposits potentially capable of yielding significant new information associated with this sub-facet.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY
Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.2.b: Whaling and other Maritime Activities

Several studies detail Indian involvement in the colonial whaling industry. Numerous references to Indian whaling are found in colonial records. Ethnohistorian Elizabeth A. Little, for example, has located and analyzed especially detailed archival sources documenting 18th-century Nantucket Indian whaling (Little 1981). By studying Indian and European account books, she has shown that rather than being "indebted servants obliged to return their earnings to their masters," they often were successful whalers earning "up to four times the annual wages of a Boston seaman" (Little 1988). Other written sources document Indian whaling at Nantucket and other places. An extensive body of Indian oral tradition further commemorates the lives and exploits of Indian whalers. Collectively, these sources describe the full range of Indian participation in on-shore and blue ocean whaling ventures.

Relatively few sources focus on Indian participation in the region's off-shore fishing fleets, ship-building industry, or privateering enterprises (F. Harrington 1985). Extant documentation chronicles notable events, like the assemblage and destruction of an Abenaki fleet consisting of 22 shallops seized from Maine anchorages during Dummer's War in 1722. Evidence of more everyday maritime activities in the form of fish bones and scales, hooks, netsinkers, and ship's furnishings have been found at many locales along the Atlantic coast. Whalebone, baleen, bone or metal harpoons, and other artifacts associated with whaling also occur in archeological deposits. Although all sites containing European artifacts probably date to historic times, none presently definitively can be associated with Indian people or use.

No properties associated with this sub-facet are listed among existing NHLs, park units, or nominated properties.

Sub-Facet I.D.2.c: Military Scouts

Substantial numbers of references to Indian service as scouts and guides are recorded in European records. Numerous references to these activities also occur in Indian and European oral traditions. Projectile points, glass beads, gunflints, gun parts, and other materials known to be associated with such activities are found in most sites dating to the historic contact period. The present state of the art makes it difficult to definitively associate such evidences with scouting activities chronicled in written records.

Documents recording the presence of Indian scouts are associated with nearly every currently designated NHL and park unit associated with military affairs in the colonial Northeast. No National Park system unit explicitly recognizes the contributions of Northeastern Indian guides in the formation of the American nation.

Thirteen nominated properties have the potential to yield archeological deposits associated with Indian scouts and guides. A large body of written evidence, for example, documents Indian service in these capacities at the nominated Fort Orange and Minisink properties. At Fort Orange, Arnout Viele and other Albany merchants were among the first eastern traders to pass through the Trans-Appalachian region to trade directly with the Ohio River tribes during the 1680s. One Indian working with Viele, a Munsee man named Mataseet historically associated with the Minisink settlement, guided refugee Shawnees from Ohio to the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers in 1692. Evidence linking Indians with later European explorers, soldiers, and traders establishing more substantial spheres of influence in the western country during the middle decades of the 18th-century may be found at Minisink and other locales.

Ten nominated properties containing values potentially associated with this sub-facet are located in the North Atlantic region. One property, Old Fort Niagara NHL, is located in the Trans-Appalachian region.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Minisink, NJ
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
Schuyler Flatts, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.2.d: Guiding Explorers Across New Territories

See Sub-Facet I.D.2.c

Sub-Facet I.D.2.e: Defending Native Homelands

Much of the colonial written record is devoted to accounts of Indian-European war and diplomacy (Leach 1988). These materials include private and official correspondence, minutes of treaties and other negotiations, descriptions of expeditions, and lists of expenses. Large bodies of European and Indian oral tradition also document intercultural politics and warfare.

Many of these accounts describe Indian efforts to defend their homelands. Monuments and markers erected at treaty and battle sites memorialize this struggle. Reconstructed forts such as Fort Stanwix National Historic Site NHL, the site of the famous Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768 establishing the Appalachian Mountain-Ohio River boundary line separating Indian and British settlements in the Northeast, recreate fortifications playing major roles in Indian efforts to preserve their lands and lives. Archeological remains of burned settlements, such as the Seneca town of Ganandagan (the Ganagaro or Boughton Hill NHL site), destroyed by its inhabitants as they retreated from an invading French column in 1687, preserve evidence of Indian attempts to defend themselves against enemy armies. Hundreds of isolated find spots of musket balls, gun flints, and other military paraphernalia also may document Indian attempts to defend their homelands.

Although no comprehensive synthesis of Indian warfare in the Northeast has yet been attempted, scholars have developed a vast literature on the subject. Iroquois warfare has attracted particular attention. Surveying extant sources, scholars have attempted to understand the economic (Hunt 1940), socio-political (Snyderman 1948), and emotional (Richter 1983) motivations impelling Iroquois warriors and diplomats. Growing numbers of scholars also are surveying tactical, technological, and sociological aspects Indian warfare in New England (Hirsch 1988; Malone 1973 and 1991).

Boughton Hill NHL currently is the only designated NHL or park unit containing values explicitly recognizing Indian defence of their homelands. All others are associated with colonial efforts to take their lands. Most are European forts primarily built to extend colonial boundaries and protect frontier settlements. The remainder are battlefields commemorating colonial victories over Indians.

Nearly all nominated properties, in contrast, are closely associated with Indian efforts to defend their homelands from colonists and other Indians. Several, such as Byrd Leibhart and Chicone, contain remains of fortified settlements. Others, like the Mohawk Upper Castle, are located near important fortifications. Many properties, such as Fort Orange and

Old Fort Niagara NHL, were sites of significant treaties and other events. And still others, like the Pamunkey and Mashantucket Pequot properties, are reservations symbolizing later stages of Indian-European alliances in Virginia and Connecticut.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY
Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.2.f: Defending Native Religious Systems

A vast body of written material documents aspects of Indian religious life during the historic contact period. Many of these accounts are based upon the writings of European observers (E. Tooker 1979). Others are more recent ethnographic accounts collected from Indian traditionalists (M.R. Harrington 1921). Many of these materials document traditional Indian religions. Others record historic developments of such traditional religious observances such as the Delaware Big House (Speck 1931). More than a few sources chronicle the rise of Indian prophetic movements such as that led by the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake in the early 1800s (Wallace 1969).

Individuals interred in flexed positions and group ossuary interments represent the most widespread evidence of Indian efforts to defend native religious systems in the Northeast. Stone amulets and effigy images pecked or incised into cobbles and pendants, stone and clay pipes, pictographs, petroglyphs, shell, glass, copper, and brass beads, and other artifacts or objects widely known to possess spiritual significance among Indian people also have been found in historic contact period archeological sites. The spiritual significance of artifacts such as glass beads long thought to have been utilitarian ornaments has been the subject of considerable study in recent years (Hamell 1983 and 1987; Hayes 1989). Although important insights have been gained, the significance of beads and other imported and locally-produced materials in defending native religious systems remains poorly understood.

Archeological values associated with this sub-facet have not yet been clearly identified within existing or proposed NHLs.

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g: Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems

Christian missionaries worked in nearly every Indian community at one time or another during the historic contact period. Although most were Europeans, some Indian people, like the already mentioned Presbyterian Mohegan missionary Samson Occom, also became ministers (Blodgett 1935). Many missionaries visited or settled in Indian settlements. Others moved native adherents to specially constructed mission towns. Some mission efforts had little impact upon native socio-political life. Others dramatically altered the lives of acolytes in ways that continue to be felt to the present day.

Much of the written record of historic contact period Indian religious life comes from the pens of Christian missionaries. Voluminous compilations, such as the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1896-1901) and the Moravian Archives (Fliegel 1970), detail the impact of missions upon Indian societies throughout the Northeast. Well documented careers of prominent missionaries, such as Massachusetts Puritan ministers John Eliot (Francis 1836) and Thomas Mayhew (Hare 1932) and Moravian missionaries John Heckewelder (P.A.W. Wallace 1940) and David Zeisberger (De Schweinitz 1870) have been intensively studied.

Many missionary enterprises in the region also have been subjected to extensive ethnohistoric examination. Most of these studies focus upon the affects of missionization upon Indian people (Beaver 1988; Campeau 1988; Gray and Gray 1956; Lewis 1988). Others detail the ways mission activities furthered colonial expansion (Jennings 1971; Salisbury 1974 and 1982a). Increasing attention is being directed towards studies emphasizing active Indian participation in an ideological struggle involving all peoples in colonial North America (Axtell 1985; Bowden and Ronda 1980; Goddard and Bragdon 1988; Simmons 1986).

A great deal of physical evidence associated with missionization survives. The silver communion service donated by Queen Anne to the Mohawk Indian congregation during the

early 18th-century, for example, remains with their descendants in Canada. Religious medals, rings, and rosary beads are found in many archeological sites (A. Wood 1974). These artifacts are not uniformly distributed throughout the region. Jesuit finger rings and medals, for example, are almost never found in sites in Maine (Bourque 1989b).

Archeologists also continue to search for house patterns, foundations, burying grounds, and other deposits associated with Natick, Massachusetts and other mission towns (Carlson 1986). Printed bibles and other religious tracts translated into Delaware, Massachusetts, Mohawk, and other Northeastern Indian languages further are preserved in many archival repositories (Goddard and Bragdon 1988).

Extensive descriptions of many mission settlements survive. Several, such as Stockbridge, Massachusetts and New Schoenbrunn, Ohio, are intensively documented and clearly mapped. Other missions are less well known. Cemeteries and buildings associated with several mission settlements survive to the present day. Although many such sites have been architecturally or archeologically surveyed in Ontario, Quebec, Florida, and points west, comparatively few sites in the Northeast have received the systematically study accorded mission properties around Massachusetts Bay (Carlson 1986).

Of the many mission settlements documented in colonial records, only one, the Mission House in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, currently is designated as a NHL in the Northeast. The eleven below listed nominated properties represent Indian mission sites or locales of significant contact between Indian people and missionaries during early historic contact period times.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Mission House (Stockbridge), MA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NJ
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
St. Mary's City NHL, MD

Sub-Facet I.D.2.h: New Native Military Alliances

See Sub-Facet I.D.2.e

Sub-Facet I.D.2.i: Trade Relationships

The thousands of imported aboriginal and European goods and materials found in contact period archeological sites throughout the Northeast mutely testify to the importance of exchange in the region (Lohse 1988). Some of these goods, like the brass discs found at Port Tobacco and Trigg sites, represent evidence of long-distance networks extending across entire regions (Waselkov 1989). Archeologists currently are developing increasingly more effective stylistic and chemical analyses to trace origins, ranges, and mechanisms of exchange in the Northeast. European artifacts and materials recovered from contact sites are documented in lists of trade goods, commercial inventories, and other sources (Eccles 1988; Sullivan, et al. 1921-1965). Forts, trading posts, and other properties surviving as standing structures or archeological sites contain much of this material.

Imported materials sometimes are found in graves. Others are preserved in secondary deposits such as middens or refuse pits. Still others are found in disturbed surface and plowzone contexts. The questionable integrity of many deposits often makes it difficult to determine original depositional patterns. Archeologists must delineate such patterns in order to develop testable inferences explaining artifact or deposit roles and functions. Increasing study of deposits possessing high integrity and analyses of collections recovered from primary depositions is needed to interpret material evidence of intercultural military, diplomatic, and economic relations in the region.

Historic documents record that extensive trade relationships were carried on in all of the below listed designated NHLs and park units. Identifiable archeological evidence of exchange thus far only has been conclusively identified at a few of these locales. Boughton Hill currently is the only NHL containing substantial archeological evidence of the Indian side of the exchange equation.

All properties nominated in this theme study possess deposits capable of significantly extending the depth and breadth of NHL representation in this sub-facet. Materials excavated at Fort Orange, for example, have provided a virtual type collection for the understanding of Dutch and English colonial era material culture. This site, and the nominated Pemaquid and Pentagoet properties, represent influential regional European trade entrepots. St. Castin's Habitation, located within the Pentagoet district, is a rare surviving example of a European trading post built in the middle of an Indian community. All other nominated properties represent remains of Indian communities containing evidence of trade and exchange.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY
Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.2.j: Cash Cropping

See Sub-Facet I.D.2.a

Sub-Facet I.D.2.k: Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter

See Sub-Facet I.D.2.a

Facet I.D.3: Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation

Early relations between natives and newcomers were characterized by an extraordinarily wide range of variation. Initial direct contacts often were peaceful. Subsequent relations frequently became less amicable as colonial expansion led to conflicts nearly everywhere in the region. Even those managing to maintain friendly relations with neighbors ultimately were not able to avoid involvement in larger international struggles such as King William's War or the War of Independence. Although many natives and newcomers tried to sit such struggles out, most ultimately found themselves embroiled in military affairs at one point or another during the first three centuries of contact.

Wars broke out between contending tribes and colonial powers almost continually throughout the 17th- and 18th-centuries. Indian people and colonists often suffered heavily in these struggles. Ultimately, thousands of people were killed in the fighting. Other thousands were injured or carried off into captivity. Many towns, both Indian and European, were destroyed. Occupants of settlements located athwart strategic invasion or trade routes, such as Old Deerfield Village NHL or Old Fort Niagara NHL, often found themselves living in what amounted to a state of siege.

Few people escaped outbreaks of smallpox, measles, malaria, influenza, and other diseases. Tens of thousands of natives and newcomers were swept away by epidemic contagion (Dobyns 1983; Grumet 1990a; Ramenofsky 1987; Snow and Lanphear 1988; Spiess and Spiess 1987). Such losses weakened both peoples. Many Indian families adopted captives to replace dead relatives. Larger nations, like the Iroquois League, occasionally made efforts to incorporate entire foreign communities. While such efforts did much to mitigate the effects of catastrophic depopulation, they could not help any tribe match European numbers. High birth rates and continual immigration raised European and African numbers along the Atlantic seaboard from near zero in 1600 to almost 2,500,000 by the close of the War of Independence (McCusker and Menard 1985). Unable to draw on similar resources, total Indian population in the region probably dropped from as much as 250,000 to one tenth that number during the same period.

Although Europeans and Africans came to overwhelmingly outnumber Indian people, many newcomers did not want to kill or drive away all native Northeasterners. More than a few colonists regarded Indians as important trade partners and political clients. Many befriended and married Indian people. All came to regard Indians as a formidable military presence. Many embattled colonies employed Indian people as soldiers, guides, and laborers. Even settlers determined to annihilate Indian people, like English colonists intent upon destroying Virginian Algonquian tribes during the first and second Powhatan Wars and Bacon's Rebellion, found themselves physically incapable of fully accomplishing their goals.

Indian people did their best to discourage colonial expansion into their territories. Many did so directly and forcibly. Others adopted more subtle strategies of intrigue, maneuver, and

deception. Most tribesfolk gradually lost their ability to drive unwanted settlers away as newcomers flooded into their territories. Unable to stop the ever-growing numbers of colonists, most Indian people instead did their best to adjust to life with their new neighbors.

The physical record of historic Indian technological adaptation to European intrusion comprises a vast body of material. Many studies on the subject have appeared. Several intensively analyze particular artifact types. Others survey regional developments. Despite this interest, a comprehensive comparative study of the full range of historic contact period Indian technological developments in the Northeast has not yet been written.

Much attention has been devoted to aboriginal historic contact period ceramics. Recent studies, such as Keith Egloff and Stephen Potter's examination of coastal plain Virginia wares (Egloff and Potter 1982), the 1979 Iroquois Pottery Conference papers (Hayes 1980), Lucianne Lavin's analysis of southern New England pottery styles (Lavin 1986), and James B. Petersen and David Sanger's Maine and Maritime aboriginal ceramic sequence (Petersen and Sanger 1989) are refining pioneering stylistic and chronological frameworks developed by such scholars as Carlyle S. Smith (C. Smith 1950), Richard MacNeish (1952), and Clifford Evans (1955). Other projects, such as the already mentioned investigations conducted by Robert Kuhn and Bruce Trigger, are using new forms of chemical analysis to identify clay types and source locations in studies of production, trade, and social patterns (Kuhn n.d.; Trigger, et al. 1980).

Colono wares found in later historic contact period sites south of Chesapeake Bay have attracted a particularly large amount of scholarly attention in recent years. Investigators focusing on data from North Carolina and points south hold that Colono pottery primarily was made by people of African descent (Deetz 1989; Ferguson 1978). Investigators examining archeological and documentary data from Virginia and Maryland think Colono wares derive from local aboriginal pottery traditions (Binford 1965; Noel Hume 1962). Other archeologists believe that these wares represent a syncretic development of aboriginal, African, and European ceramic styles, materials, and modes of manufacture (Henry 1992). Analysis of deposits found at locales like the nominated Pamunkey community promises to provide new information on the role of Colono wares and other pottery forms in relationships between people in the Northeast.

Lithic technologies also are extensively examined in the existing site literature. Larger-scale lithic analyses frequently focus upon diagnostic bifacially chipped projectile points or knives (Justice 1987; W. Ritchie 1971). More recently, scholars have begun to devote increasing amounts of attention upon smaller-scale patterns of wear, acquisition, distribution, and classification of all classes of aboriginal lithic technology (Dincauze 1976b; Lavin 1983; Luedtke 1979).

Ceramics and lithics are not the only archeological materials being studied for their ability to reveal information illuminating early aspects of conflict, conquest, and accommodation

in the region. Archeologists are using archival and excavation data to assess chronological characteristics of shell gorgets (Brashler and Moxley 1990) and shell beads (Sempowski 1989).

The effects of contact on these and other aspects of native material culture remain incompletely understood. Recent studies are contributing new data tracing impacts of European metal tools and techniques on Iroquoian and North Atlantic Algonquian basket production (Brasser 1975; McMullen and Handsman 1987). Other studies promise to more fully explicate effects of European materials and ideas on material and symbolic aspects of Indian production, distribution, and consumption of other goods not wholly replaced by European imports.

The form and function of European materials themselves has been extensively studied. Well documented technologies used as diagnostic time markers, such as glass beads (Kidd and Kidd 1970), European white clay pipes, often called "kaolin" pipes (Binford 1962; Omwake 1972; Walker 1977), and other forms of European ceramics, have received much scholarly attention in recent years. Firearms also have been the subject of numerous studies (M.L. Brown 1980; Hayes 1986; Malone 1973; Puype 1985). Other technologies, such as iron axes and knives (Feder 1984; Hagerty 1963; Kidd 1955), native or European textiles (Welter 1985), and cloth seals (Endrei and Egan 1982) are subjects of extensive analysis. Glasswares and other lesser known European goods await further examination.

Dean R. Snow and Donald A. Rumrill have developed one of the more comprehensive Terminus Post Quem [TPQ] systems for dating historic contact period deposits in the Northeast (Rumrill 1990; Snow 1989a). While both frameworks differ in certain specifics, each attempts to date historic contact sites through linkages with a wide range of TPQ-dated European goods. Their typologies trace initial appearances of more than 80 classes of glass beads, iron tools, and other European or historic aboriginal objects and implements in Mohawk, Seneca, and Ontario Iroquois sites. Although many of their findings are provisional, both studies provide models for development of similar multi-stage frameworks spanning the colonial era in other parts of the region.

Information recorded by more acute observers like Labadist minister Jasper Danckaerts [1679-1680] and Quaker proprietor William Penn [1683] documents aspects of technological change as native people along the Atlantic seaboard abandoned traditional lithic, ceramic, and shell industries for new European materials (Danckaerts 1913; Penn 1937). Many sources affirm that most Indian people in the region largely stopped producing aboriginal tools and weapons by the first decades of the 18th-century. And nearly all agree that much of the technological inventory used by nearly every tribe in the region almost entirely consisted of European materials by the end of the War of Independence.

Lists, prices, and descriptions of these goods can be found in traders ledgers, treaty minutes, and other documents. Wilbur R. Jacobs's pathbreaking analysis of the significance of Indian

presents in 18th-century frontier diplomacy (Jacobs 1950) and Thomas Norton's more recent reassessment of the New York Indian fur trade (Norton 1974), are among the many studies using such documents to provide important insights into the role of technology in culture change and stability on the colonial frontier.

Indian responses to exotic goods and new ideas were complex. Many native people openly embraced innovative developments. Others utterly rejected them. Most adapted them to their own purposes. As archeologist Russell G. Handsman has pointed out for the Susquehannocks, some:

> became pawns or entrepreneurs; others made themselves into kings or merchants, while still others rebelled and resisted. No one was entirely free to make history, to reshape society, social relations, and the organization of production and exchange, any way they chose. The past - their past, their history - constrained them, as did the actions and criticisms of other Susquehannock natives (Handsman 1987).

Balancing traditions with new exigencies, Indian people throughout the region struggled to adjust to changing conditions brought on by contact. Coalitions were formed and feel apart. Old forms of family and community life were strengthened, transformed, or abandoned altogether. Women's roles and status were enhanced in some instances and diminished in others (Grumet 1980; Spittal 1990).

However they responded to the challenges of contact, conquest, and accommodation, all did so as individuals and as members of autonomous communities. Intermarriage, trade jargons, and diplomatic rituals such as calumet dances and treaty protocols facilitated intercultural relations. Indian symbols and customs, such as wampum exchange and the use of Iroquois condolence ceremony metaphors at treaty meetings, shaped the style and substance of forest diplomacy. Wampum also served as currency in many cash-poor provinces. And new institutions, such as literacy, land deed rituals, and reservations were introduced into Indian country from Europe.

Sub-Facet I.D.3.a: Transfer of Technology to Native People

As the preceding section makes clear, European technology affected every aspect of Indian life in the region. Indian people everywhere adopted new tools or adapted existing implements for planting, hunting, war, trade, religion, and other activities. Food production techniques changed considerably. Indian people increasingly used iron and steel axes, hoes, and other tools to clear and till lands for fields or orchards of newly introduced apples, peaches, and other fruits. Other tools were used to manage imported domestic animals such as chickens, cattle, pigs, and horses.

Evidence of European transfer of food production and other technologies to native people occurs in almost every archeological deposit associated with historic contact in the region. Much of this evidence is in the form of above mentioned European manufactures. Although different communities adopted different aspects of European technology at different times, archeological and documentary evidence shows that very nearly every Indian community ultimately incorporated European materials into its technological inventory in one way or another during the colonial era.

The reasons behind Indian acceptance of tools and materials of European origin are complex and not easily understood. Nearly all probably appreciated those found to be useful or interesting. Others may have been impressed by their costliness, novelty, beauty, and rarity. Many also probably saw them as pathways to spiritual, social, or political power.

Whatever their reasons for adopting European materials, the consequences of such transfers are better known. Possession of European goods often brought a measure of increased prosperity to many Indian communities. Continued acquisition of goods exclusively produced by foreigners also led to dependency. Muskets, rifles, gunpowder, lead, and metal knives and hatchets ultimately came to be regarded as essential items. Copper, brass, and iron cooking kettles and pans replaced clay pots. And metal awls, needles, scissors, hoes, hatchets, and adzes became indispensable in most households.

By the end of the 17th-century, most Northeastern Indian communities relied upon European suppliers or Indian middlemen for trade goods they could neither produce nor repair themselves. This situation created problems as well as opportunities. Colonial entrepreneurs and Indian middlemen rarely acting with the interests and welfare of clients in mind often tried to exploit customers. Others used trade goods to establish and maintain political alliances. One of these, the Covenant Chain confederation between New York and the Iroquois and their Algonquian allies, would ultimately play a major role in determining the course of Indian-European relations throughout the colonial Northeast (Jennings 1984).

Every currently designated NHL associated with historic contact and all nominated properties address this critical area. Most currently designated NHLs represent the European side of the story. The greater majority of nominated properties, in contrast, have the potential to yield significant new information on the Indian role in technological transfer.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY
Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.3.b: Forced and Voluntary Population Movements

See Sub-Facet I.D.3.c

Sub-Facet I.D.3.c: The New Demographics

The demographic consequences of the Columbian exchange are extensively documented in European archives, archeological deposits, and Indian oral traditions. Many Indian and European sources contain Indian population estimates. Hundreds of Indian towns, moreover, are recorded in colonial documents or preserved in archeological contexts.

Recent studies have compiled and analyzed much of this data. All articles in the Northeast Handbook volume (Trigger 1978a), for example, contain population estimates. Each handbook article also is accompanied by one or more maps showing tribal distribution, settlement locales, and population movements.

Many studies focus upon changing Indian settlement patterns in the region. The most comprehensive of these, Helen Tanner's already mentioned Great Lakes Indian history atlas, lists hundreds of historic Indian townsites (Tanner 1987). A particularly valuable atlas presenting data relating to aspects of Indian-European contact in more northerly portions of the Trans-Appalachian region and New England bordering on Canada may be found in Harris and Matthews (1987). Other sources correlate archeological and documentary settlement data in smaller areas. Ben McCary and Norman Barka, for example, used information from the John Smith and Zuniga maps to locate and identify archeological townsites along the Chickahominy and James Rivers in Virginia (McCary and Barka 1977). Farther north, Barry Kent and his colleagues have mapped many documented 18th-century Indian towns in Pennsylvania (Kent, Rice, and Ota 1981).

Many studies examine other aspects of Northeastern Indian historic demography. Specialists differ among themselves about the size, composition, and distribution of aboriginal populations. Even more debate surrounds the issue of historic Northeastern native population decline. Many scholars believe that upwards of a quarter of a million people may have been living in the Northeast when colonists first came. Others, pointing to the relatively rarity of contact period archeological sites and citing later colonial sources listing much lower numbers, believe that pre-contact Indian populations were far smaller. Whatever their beliefs, most scholars now agree that as many as 90% of the region's native inhabitants may have died in epidemics, wars, and others affects of contact with colonists (Dobyns 1983; Grumet 1990a; Ramenofsky 1987; Snow and Lanphear 1988; Spiess and Spiess 1987; Thornton 1987).

Migration was a major factor of Northeastern life throughout the first centuries of contact. Nearly every American Indian community either forcibly or voluntarily moved from its homeland at sometime during the historic contact period. Many nations, like the Pamunkeys of Virginia and the Mashantucket Pequots of Connecticut, managed to hold onto some of their original lands. Wars, epidemics, land sales, government relocation policies, and other factors forced other Northeastern Indians to abandon their homelands. The descendants of many of these people cannot presently be clearly identified. Others, like many of the descendants of Munsees who lived in Minisink and Ward's Point, today live in exile in Ontario, Quebec, Wisconsin, Kansas, Oklahoma, and elsewhere (Weslager 1978).

Changing patterns of Indian demography are not easily discerned in the archeological record. Relatively few intact sites have been found in most areas of the region. Discoveries of intact mortuary sites containing data essential for demographic studies are even rarer occurrences. Individual burials alone rarely contain data capable of supporting demographic analyses.

Groups of burials usually do not contain sufficiently dated populations located within identifiable chronological and cultural contexts. Despite their rarity, some burial communities exist. Several of the larger of these are associated with Narragansett people in Rhode Island, the Seneca nation in western New York, and former Susquehannock occupants of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Information contained within well dated and culturally identifiable burials can provide vital data on health, disease, age, sex, and, on occasion, social role. Analysis of these data can provide new insights into the still incompletely understood demographic consequences of the period. They can also provide important information disease patterns needed to improve health care for Indian people in particular, and all Americans in general.

Today, most native communities object to the excavation of Indian burials and cemeteries. Other people are divided on the subject. Whatever their differences, all people involved in the issue object to arbitrary and insensitive excavation, display, and sale of Indian mortuary remains. The newly passed "Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act" formally protects Indian grave sites threatened by federally-funded projects or located on federal and Indian lands. People generally recognize the need to preserve threatened burials. Most also agree that study of human remains can result in potentially important health benefits for living people. Some tribes, like the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, are working closely with archeologists to preserve and study ancestral burials and cemeteries (P. Robinson 1988). Data from this collaboration is creating a database of past and present patterns of health and disease of great potential use to the Narragansett people (Kelley, Barrett, and Saunders 1987; Kelley, Sledzik, and Murphy 1987).

The Boughton Hill site is the only currently designated NHL property directly illustrating historic Indian demography and population movements in the region. Site deposits at this locale preserve well-dated intact evidence of settlement formation, development, and abandonment. All other existing NHLs represent locations where newcomers worked to dominate treaties, trading, and other actions affecting demography and population movements throughout the region.

All nominated NHLs have the potential to reveal significant new insights into aspects of Indian demography presently unrepresented within the NHL thematic framework. Some nominees, such as Nauset, Minisink, and the Mohawk Upper Castle, can furnish new materials needed to better understand changing settlement patterns in many areas of the North Atlantic. Locales such as Mashantucket Pequot and Pamunkey can reveal significant data on Indian people forced to move onto reservations during the colonial era.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY
Bushy Run Battlefield, PA
Colonial National Historical Park, VA
Conrad Weiser Home, PA
Forks of the Ohio, PA
Fort Christina, DE
Fort Crown Point, NY
Fort Frederick, MD
Fort Halifax, ME
Fort Johnson, NY
Fort Klock, NY
Fort Necessity National Battlefield, PA
Fort St. Frederic, NY
Fort Stanwix, NY
Fort Ticonderoga, NY
Fort Western, ME
James Logan Home, PA
Johnson Hall, NY
Mission House, MA
New Town Battlefield, NY
Old Deerfield Village, MA
Old Fort Niagara, NY
Oriskany Battlefield, NY
Printzhof, PA

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Sub-Facet I.D.3.d: Changing Settlement Types

Indian settlement patterns changed dramatically during the colonial era. Many members of groups thought to have been more sedentary during late prehistoric times, like Delaware people on the Atlantic coast, adopted more mobile lifestyles in response as changing patterns of trade, war, diplomacy, depopulation, and dispossession transformed their ways of life. Other people, such as the Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Susquehannocks of Pennsylvania, initially responded to the same challenges by moving into larger and more populous settlements than those built by their ancestors. Several factors induced most of these people to adopt more dispersed town plans during the late 17th-century. Wooden fortresses vulnerable to attacks from enemies intent upon burning entire communities frequently became deathtraps after warfare intensified throughout the region during the mid-1600s. Formal declaration of Iroquois neutrality after 1701 ushered in a

period of relative peace that made the construction of such fortresses less necessary in the Confederacy heartland.

New organizations of space within settlements also appeared. Many communities established separate burial grounds for the first time. Some ultimately constructed mills, barns, and blacksmith shops. Many communities also gradually planted orchards and erected fences around their fields.

House types also changed. Wattle-and-daub walled houses disappeared in the upper Ohio Valley. Although bark and grass-mat covered wigwams remained in use, their numbers dwindled as the colonial era wore on. People continuing to live in wigwams increasingly furnished them with wooden doors, tables, chairs, and other European housewares.

Log cabins or wooden frame houses gradually supplanted traditional bark and grass covered structures in most Northeastern Indian communities. Increasing numbers of new building types such as mills, school houses, and churches also appeared. A large body of archeological and written evidence documents these changes. Archeological evidence such as postmold patterns, midden deposits, pit and hearth features, and artifact concentrations associated with late prehistoric or historic occupations have been recovered at many locales. Large numbers of European illustrations, maps, and written descriptions abundantly record information on historic Indian architecture. Maps represent a particularly valuable resource. Several projections, such as Champlain's 1606 map of Indian plantations surrounding Nauset Harbor, Massachusetts (in Salwen 1978) and the 1657 Bressani map showing an Iroquois longhouse (in Heidenreich 1978), contain unique images of early historic Northeastern Indian housing.

Important data bearing upon housetypes, architectural details, building materials, and furnishings may be found in Indian and European oral narratives. Surviving standing structures, such as the Indian Mission House NHL in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and Mary Jemison's log cabin in Letchworth State Park, New York, are rare living examples of housing associated with historic Indian people.

The chapter entitled "Wigwam and Longhouse: Northeast and Great Lakes," in the recently published volume "Native American Architecture" (Nabokov and Easton 1989), provides an unparalleled overview of the subject. Comprehensive and well illustrated, the chapter describes all known aboriginal and European building types, styles, building methods, and materials used by Northeastern Indian people during the historic contact period. The volume's bibliographic essay contains an excellent critical review of key published sources. Useful studies of Scandinavian and Central European log cabins adapted by colonists and Indian people alike to Northeastern conditions appear in Weslager (1969) and Jordan (1985).

Despite the large number of published sources on the subject, much remains to be learned about Indian architecture in the region. Archeologists need to more fully corroborate written records describing aboriginal structures such as the longhouse recorded by Jasper Danckaerts at the village of Nayack in Brooklyn, New York in 1679 (Danckaerts 1913), or the wigwams furnished with tables and other European furnishings drawn by John Trumbull at Niantic, Connecticut in 1761 (Sturtevant 1975). More information also is needed on the causes and consequences of Indian adoption of log houses, frame structures, and other European vernacular house types and building styles. Presently undiscovered written records further may help future scholars more fully understand otherwise unchronicled house patterns discovered during excavations at Norridgewock and other protohistoric or historic sites.

Boughton Hill NHL is the only currently designated NHL or park unit containing archeological evidence of changing Indian settlement types in the Northeast.

Information contained in all nominated properties has the potential to significantly increase the depth and breadth of understanding of changing historic contact period settlement types in the region.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

Boughton Hill, NY

Proposed NHL Designations:

Byrd Leibhart, PA
Camden NHL, VA
Chicone, MD
Cocumscussoc, RI
Cushnoc, ME
Fort Corchaug, NY
Fort Orange, NY
Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT
Minisink, NY
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY
Nauset, MA
Norridgewock, ME
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY
Pamunkey, VA
Pemaquid, ME
Pentagoet, ME
St. Mary's City NHL, MD
Schuyler Flatts, NY
Ward's Point, NY

Facet I.D.4: Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.

Native Northeasterners have made significant contributions to the national life of the United States. Despite this fact, many of these contributions remain unrecognized, overlooked, or misunderstood. Technological contributions, such as toboggans, moccasins, bark canoes, or corn, beans, squash, and tobacco cultivation are widely known (Hallowell 1957). Many words and expressions, such as "powwow" and "bury the hatchet," have become part of the

English language. And, as historian William Brandon has pointed out, "the effect of the Indian world on the changing American soul, [is] most easily seen in the influence of the image of the American Indian on European notions of liberty" (Brandon in E. Tooker 1988:311).

Perhaps the most significant, and most overlooked, contribution is the crucial role Northeastern Indian people played in the national and cultural formation of the United States. Indeed, as James Axtell reminds us, Indian people are indispensable to American history (Axtell 1987; De Voto 1952; Berkhofer 1973). Many native people fed, sheltered, and tutored newcomers during their first difficult years on American shores. Many backwoods colonists moving beyond the periphery of European settlement incorporated Indian forms of dress, shelter, and subsistence. Categorizing the basic elements comprising what they term "Backwoods Colonization Culture," cultural geographers Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups have shown that adaptation and adoption of Indian lifeways played a major role in development of frontier folklife and folkways in forested parts of Pennsylvania during the 17th- and 18th-centuries (Jordan and Kaups 1989).

Most backwoods colonists settled along frontier peripheries separating powerful contenders. Growing centers of European colonization were arrayed along the coast on one side. On the other, powerful and vigorous native nations resisted all expansion attempts. The more successful of these nations, such as the Iroquois Confederacy, the Abenakis, and the Shawnees, continued to hold the balance of power years after the first tiny European outposts grew into mighty centers of power and influence. Relations with these and other nations influenced political events on both sides of the Atlantic. More thoughtful European policymakers considered the friendship or hostility of Indian communities when weighing questions of peace or war. The military prowess of powerful native nations, moreover, often influenced outcomes of European wars. Francis Jennings, for example, has convincingly shown that Mohawk warriors and Christian Indian converts secured English victory over New England Indians fighting against the colonists in King Philip's War in 1676 (Jennings 1975).

In these and other ways, the actions of Northeastern warriors and diplomats influenced the course of history throughout the region and largely determined who would prevail in the struggle for empire that raged across eastern North America during the colonial era. Indian influence was also felt in the evolution of American law and custom. Colonial lawmakers often were forced to consider Indian interests when enacting, changing, or enforcing laws, ordinances, and other regulations. Indian people also enduringly influenced diplomat protocol. The Indian treaty system initially developed as a tool of Northeastern forest diplomacy, for example, survives today as the legal and moral basis for all federal-Indian relations.

Most scholars today agree that Indian relations played a major role in the events leading up to the American Revolution. Assertions suggesting that Iroquois political forms or concepts influenced and inspired the founders of the American republic remain subjects of

considerable debate (Weatherford 1988). Several scholars, such as Donald Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen, believe that the framers of the Constitution regarded the Iroquois Confederacy as an exemplary model for their experiment in democratic government (Grinde and Johansen 1991). Others, citing the ethnocentric attitudes of the framers and the overwhelming influence of enlightenment thought among them, have found little to support such assertions (E. Tooker 1989).

Sub-Facet I.D.4.a: Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers

Corn, bean, squash, and tobacco cultivation are the best known of the many technological contributions made by Indian people to the rest of the world. Northeastern colonists adopting these crops tended to augment local Indian planting methods with plows, manure, fertilizer, and other agricultural techniques (Ceci 1975). Popular foods such as succotash and hominy grits clearly originated along Northeastern Indian firesides. Scholars are less sure about the origins of maple sugaring in the region (C. Mason 1986; Pendergast 1982).

Many colonists in newly established settlements such as St. Mary's City and Plymouth passed their months in Indian wigwams. Today, Northeastern Indian architectural ideas are incorporated in the forms of quonset huts and domes (Hallowell 1957). Indian inventions, such as toboggans and snowshoes, continue to be used in snowy weather. Canoe designers using modern materials follow design lines first laid out by Northeastern Indian people. Hard-soled moccasins similar in form to those adopted by frontier settlers today are worn throughout the world.

No currently designated NHL recognizes values associated with this sub-facet. Newly discovered archeological information documenting direct transfer of native technology to newcomers is being incorporated into existing materials documenting St. Mary's City NHL.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

None

Proposed NHL Designations:

St. Mary's City NHL, MD

Sub-Facet I.D.4.b: Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music

Museum collections, archeological sites, and written records contain numerous examples of Indian contributions to decorative and fine arts in the Northeast. Both African and European settlers adopted or used Indian Colono wares throughout the 18th-century.

Settlers from New England to the Carolinas used red terracotta tobacco smoking pipes decorated with incised running deer or geometric designs of Indian origin. Floral and abstract design techniques and motifs used by Northeastern Indian people have long been popular in American decorative and fine arts. Scholars continue to debate the origins and cultural significance of these motifs (Brasser 1975; Speck 1914 and 1947). No matter what their origins, decorative themes associated with Northeastern Indian people have significantly influenced American popular culture (Green 1988).

Many Northeastern Indian people maintain the aesthetic traditions of their ancestors. Gay Head Wampanoag potters from Martha's Vineyard, for example, craft clay pots popular with tourists and connoisseurs. Iroquois artists in New York, Wisconsin, Quebec, and Ontario continue to carve, paint, and weave traditional fine and folk arts. Widely appreciated throughout the world, their work is marketed in shops and museums across America (Johannsen and Ferguson 1983).

Indian innovations, such as Colono wares and running deer motif and other decorative designs incised into red terracotta tobacco smoking pipes, were widely adopted by European and African artists and craftspeople in the Middle Atlantic region during the 18th-century.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

None

Proposed NHL Designations:

Camden,NHL, VA
Fort Orange, NY
Pamunkey, VA
St. Mary's City NHL, MD

Sub-Facet I.D.4.c: Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law

Northeastern Indian people have served as informants for non-Indians interested in their cultures for more than four centuries. Studies based upon data provided by such informants, like Jean-Francois Lafitau's 1724 work favorably contrasting Iroquois society with classical Greek and Roman culture, have influenced thinkers of every social, political, and philosophical persuasion from Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke to Frederick Engels and Karl Marx (Berkhofer 1988; Fenton and Moore 1974-77).

The impact of Northeastern Indian legal concepts upon the development of American governmental forms continues to be the subject of lively debate. Most scholars, for example, recognize the fact that the treaty system regulating relationships between the federal government and federally recognized Indian tribes originated in the forest diplomacy of the

Northeastern frontier. The impact of forest diplomats on other American legal forms is less clear.

As mentioned earlier, several scholars believe that both the philosophy and example of the Iroquois League influenced the framers of the American Constitution. Grinde and Johansen, for example, assert that notions of sovereignty derived from the people, separation of powers, and the idea of federalism itself, were reinforced if not inspired by Indian examples (Grinde and Johansen 1991). Asserting that such ideas are not limited to Indians, other scholars point out that the Constitution was framed by people subscribing to a political culture not entirely well-disposed towards Indians and based on principles little resembling Iroquoian concepts of consensus, matrilineal succession, clan representation, disproportionate national representation, or women's enfranchisement (E. Tooker 1988).

Awareness of the important role played by women in Iroquois decision-making has had a profound impact upon Western thought. Both Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) and Friedrich Engels (1884), whose work was strongly influenced by Morgan, believed that the Iroquois exemplified an earlier matriarchical phase of human social evolution. These and subsequent studies taking less unilinear and more balanced view of Iroquois gender roles have exerted powerful influence on feminist thought and post-modernist theory. Most of the more important of these studies may be consulted in a recent compilation edited by Spittal (1990).

Recent legal decisions bearing upon land issues originated during the historic contact period, such as the 1971 Maine Indian Land Settlement and recent land claim litigations in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, has exerted significant influences upon the continuing development of American law. These and other actions show that the struggle over the legal issue of sovereignty first joined during the early years of historic contact continues up to the present day.

Northeastern Indian people also have played more indirect roles in developments associated with this sub-facet. Most provincial charters called for the conversion of Indians to Christianity. Dartmouth and several other schools ostensibly were founded to train Indian missionaries. Other institutions, such as Harvard, Princeton, and the College of William and Mary, ultimately devoted some degree of attention toward Indian education. Fund-raisers used such intentions as selling points to attract donations. The most successful of these, Mohegan Indian missionary Samson Occom, in company with the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker, raised more than L 12,000 for Eleazar Wheelock's Indian school in Connecticut during a two-year trip to England and Scotland between 1765 and 1767 (Blodgett 1935). Little of this money was put towards Indian education. Most instead was spent to build Dartmouth College, a school largely catering to the educational needs of non-Indian people (Axtell 1981).

This sub-facet currently is not illustrated by an existing or proposed NHL property or NPS park unit.

Sub-Facet I.D.4.d: Native Roles in the Changing Images of America

The image of the Indian represents the most enduring symbol of America (Berkhofer 1978 and 1988). Actual Northeastern Indian people, such as Squanto, actual individuals known for both their historical and fictional roles such as Uncas, and mythical figures, such as James Fenimore Cooper's Chingachcook, have come to symbolize the image of the "Noble Savage" in literature and art. Less appealing figures, such as Cooper's evil Huron warrior Magua and the Indian villains of a thousand captivity narratives, continue to typify the image of the "Evil Savage."

This imagery serves many purposes. As mentioned earlier, enlightenment thinkers espousing concepts of progress and natural law such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke drew upon descriptions of Northeastern Indian life penned by Jean-Francois Lafitau and other observers to support theses based on the innate ability of free men living in a state of nature to deal justly with one another. Thomas Hobbes and others taking a less idealistic view of human nature used the same data to support their own contentions that human life in its natural state was "nasty, brutish, and short." More recently, Northeastern Indian imagery has been used by such divergent interests as sports teams, political parties, advertising agencies, and the environmental movement.

No NHL or park unit currently illustrates this sub-facet. The Mashantucket Pequot Reservation Archaeological District is the only property nominated in this theme study illustrating the native role in the changing images of America. The Pequots have come to represent the full range of Indian images in the American mind. Up until a very few years ago, American imagemakers viewed the Pequots as archetypical savages feared by settlers and more peaceable Indians alike as the fierce tribe of "destroyers." Recalling their distinction as one of the first tribes to be defeated in war by colonists, other imagemakers, such as the Shawnee leader Tecumseh, have portrayed the Pequots as symbols of Indian defeat and dispersal. More recently, the Mashantucket Pequots have come to typify Indian resurgence through their successful efforts to obtain federal recognition of their tribe and reestablish their traditional reservation in Connecticut.

Current NHL or NPS Park System Unit Representation:

None

Proposed NHL Designations:

Fort Shantok, CT
Mashantucket Pequot, CT

EVALUATION CRITERIA

F.III: Significance

NHL evaluation criteria largely center upon determinations of national significance of properties outstandingly representing or embodying one or more of the six NHL significance criteria (See below). In accordance with current policy, all properties considered for nomination are required to address Criterion 6 bearing upon the ability of the property to yield information of major national significance.

All NHL theme studies use the NHL thematic framework to organize information relating to potential and designated properties of national significance. As shown above, thematic elements represent nationally significant research questions. Collectively, they constitute "a comprehensive outline of United States history, prehistory, and cultural endeavors."

Information organized by this outline "is used to show the extent to which units and cultural resources of the National Park System, affiliated areas, and National Historic Landmarks reflect the Nation's past." Organization of information associated with existing NHLs shows those themes that are well represented in particular parts of the outline and those that are unrepresented or under-represented. By revealing the extent of existing thematic representation, the outline serves as part of the process for assessing potential national significance of nominated properties. Nominating authorities, for example, may consider it more appropriate to designate outstanding or unique properties associated with presently unrepresented sub-themes than otherwise representative properties associated with already extensively represented sub-themes.

F.IV: Registration Requirements

National Historic Landmark Criteria

As set forth in 36 CFR Part 65.4

Criterion 1: Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

Criterion 2: Properties that are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

Criterion 3: Properties that represent some great idea or ideal of the American people.

Criterion 4: Properties that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Criterion 5: Properties that are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptionally historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture.

Criterion 6: Properties that have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

In accordance with National Register of Historic Places Criteria Considerations (Exceptions), "Cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years" are excluded from consideration in this theme study.

Areas of Significance and Data Requirements

As developed for and only used in this theme study

Properties proposed for NHL designation must:

1. have landowner nomination consent.

2. possess intact deposits associated with property types that have yielded or are capable of yielding information sufficient to identify:

   A. period or periods of occupation or utilization.

   and

   B. sociocultural affiliations of site occupants.

   and

   C. site functions.

Properties possessing these attributes should yield or possess the potential to yield information capable of:

3. establishing site activity scheduling.
4. revealing intrasite variability.
5. identifying relationships with other locales or communities.
6. revealing environmental information.
7. representing thematic values presently not represented or under-represented in the NHL thematic framework.
8. representing cultures not presently represented or under-represented as NHLs or as properties within existing NPS system units.

A copy of the grid correlating data requirement values with NHL thematic elements to establish the basis for determining significance of individual properties nominated through this Theme Study appears on the following page. Properties found to possess property types possessing all mandatory and most recommended attributes associated with particular NHL thematic elements may be nominated for NHL designation. This grid appears in Section 8 in all individual property NHL nomination forms utilized in this Theme Study.

National Historic Landmark Data Requirements	Facet I.D.1: Native Cultural Adaptations at Contact.	Facet I.D.2: Establishing Intercultural Relations.									Facet I.D.3: Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.				Facet I.D.4: Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.			
Property Name: Location (County, State) NHL Significance Criterion: Theme I: Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations. Sub-Theme I.D: Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations. Preparer: Date:	Sub Facets I.D.1.i: Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.	I.D.2.a: Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.	I.D.2.b: Whaling and other Maritime Activities.	I.D.2.c: Military Scouts.	I.D.2.d: Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.	I.D.2.e: Defending Native Homelands.	I.D.2.f: Defending Native Religious Systems.	I.D.2.g: Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.	I.D.2.h: New Native Military Alliances.	I.D.2.i: Trade Relationships.	I.D.3.a: Transfer of Technology to Native People.	I.D.3.b: Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.	I.D.3.c: The New Demographics.	I.D.3.d: Changing Settlement Types.	I.D.4.a: Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.	I.D.4.b: Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.	I.D.4.c: Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.	I.D.4.d: Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.
Properties proposed for NHL designation must:																		
1. have landowner nomination consent.																		
2. possess intact deposits associated with property types that have yielded or are capable of yielding information sufficient to identify:																		
A. period or periods of occupation or utilization.																		
B. sociocultural affiliations of site occupants.																		
C. site functions.																		
Properties possessing these attributes should yield or possess the potential to yield information capable of:																		
3. establishing site activity scheduling.																		
4. revealing intrasite variability.																		
5. identifying relationships with other locales or communities.																		
6. revealing environmental information.																		
7. representing thematic values presently not represented or under-represented in the NHL thematic framework.																		
8. representing cultures not presently represented or under represented as NHLs or as properties within existing NPS system units.																		

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

BUILDING A HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR NATIONALLY SIGNIFICANT HISTORIC CONTACT PERIOD CULTURAL RESOURCES

An abridged earlier version of this section appears in Grumet (1990b)

This NHL theme study uses the preservation planning historic context framework within an MPDF to systematically identify, evaluate, and designate resources containing property types associated with historic contact in the Northeast. In so doing, this is the first study of its kind to combine several National Park Service preservation tools to develop a regional planning document. The first of these, the National Historic Landmark theme study, is the primary NPS vehicle for studying and evaluating properties associated with American history and culture on a national scale. Such studies traditionally consist of thematic overviews, essays on significant topics, presentation of NHL evaluation criteria, delineation and evaluation of properties believed to possess national significance, and listings of sites selected for further study. Properties selected for nomination in such documents meet NHL evaluation criteria, possess values unrepresented or under-represented in the NHL thematic framework, and are approved for nomination by their landowners.

Addressing the same issues as NHL theme studies, historic contexts further systematize identification, evaluation, and designation procedures by establishing formal property types classifying related resources into more broadly comparable groups, inventorying properties at all levels of significance, formulating evaluation criteria-based management goals and priorities, and developing implementation frameworks based upon them.

Although historic preservation planning consists of many components, historic contexts are its centerpiece. Historic contexts provide a framework for systematically identifying, evaluating, designating, and treating cultural resources associated with particular themes, areas, and time periods. The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Preservation Planning detail procedures for identifying areas to be surveyed for cultural resources, determining the significance of properties located within such areas, and specifying treatment options (National Park Service 1983).

Historic context-based planning permits recognition of individual properties as parts of larger systems. Historic contexts also help managers and others evaluate properties within their proper levels of significance. As such, they provide both a systematized basis for comparison and a comprehensive frame of reference. In so doing, historic contexts provide cultural resource managers and those whose activities affect historic properties with a guide for rational decision-making.

All State Historic Preservation Offices and many federal agencies, county governments, local municipalities, and other organizations currently are developing or implementing historic context-based preservation plans. Most focus upon specific regions, resource types, or time

periods. At the present time, most preservation plans manage cultural resources located within state boundaries. Few extend their purview beyond state lines. Although federal agencies such as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the U.S. Forest Service produce regional plans spanning state boundaries, the National Historic Landmarks theme study program is the only process for organizing information that is wholly devoted to systematic identification, evaluation, and designation of cultural resources on a national scale.

PLANNING, THEME STUDIES, AND THE NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM

The National Historic Landmarks Program, authorized by the Historic Sites Act of 1935, developed America's first cultural resource management planning process. The Historic Sites Act is the first federal law to establish "a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the American people" (Historic Sites Act 1935). Under its terms, the National Park Service is mandated to survey, research, study, protect, preserve, maintain, or operate nationally significant historic or archeological buildings, sites, objects, or properties.

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings was authorized to carry out this directive. Known as the Historic Sites Survey, and currently the NHL Survey, this program was charged with the responsibility of identifying America's most significant historic properties. Although not explicitly identified as a planning process, the Historic Sites Survey was and is "the principal means by which the United States government, through the National Park Service, has identified properties of national historical significance" (Mackintosh 1985:1). Originally intended to identify and evaluate properties for potential inclusion within the National Park system, the NHL Survey has since become a vehicle for the designation of nationally significant cultural resources. In so doing, it serves as a means for encouraging preservation efforts both inside and outside the Nation Park system.

A 1934 National Resources Board report was the first document to define nationally significant resources as properties possessing "certain matchless or unique qualities which entitle [them] to a position of first rank among historic sites" (in Tainter and Lucas 1983:708). The 1935 Act inspired by this report large adopted this definition of significance, substituting the term "exceptional" for "matchless or unique" to describe these qualities. Such qualities were held to exist in properties illustrating broad aspects or patterns of prehistoric or historic American life, associated with the life of some great American, or associated with dramatic events or great American ideas or ideals. Today, the NHL program employs the six above listed evaluation criteria to determine national significance.

PLANNING PROCESSES

THE NHL THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

In 1936, Historic Site Survey personnel developed the thematic outline to assess the national significance of cultural properties. By establishing systematic procedures for the practical use of the thematic framework to identify, evaluate, and designate America's most significant cultural resources, theme studies became this country's first preservation planning process.

The NHL thematic framework classifies American historic and archeological places meeting NHL criteria for national significance. As such, the NHL thematic framework "is a comprehensive outline of United States prehistory, history, and cultural endeavors" (National Park Service 1987:i). A constantly evolving process, the NHL thematic framework "is used to show the extent to which units and cultural resources of the National Park System, affiliated areas, and National Historic Landmarks reflect the nation's past" (i). Thus, it may be efficiently used to guide analysis, classification, and assessment of historic properties of potential national significance. The NHL thematic framework can be used to identify future directions for planning and study through assessments of the representative nature of nominated properties in illustrating significant themes in American history.

The NHL thematic outline presently consists of 34 themes encompassing every aspect of American history from "Cultural Developments: Indigenous American populations" to "Recreation." Each theme is divided into several sub-themes. Sub-themes, in turn, are divided into smaller units called facets and sub-facets. Altogether, framework components cover "all areas of United States history without excessive detail or minutiae" (i).

The first theme studies applying NHL significance criteria to properties within specific themes were conducted between 1936 and 1942. These studies resulted in compilation of a file card inventory of nearly 900 prehistoric and historic sites representing 20 themes. Of these, 260 were found to be nationally significant. The National Park Service acquired 18 of these properties (Mackintosh 1985:20).

The file card theme study survey remained the only systematic national cultural resource inventory prior to the development of the present theme study program in 1957. Theme studies produced since 1957 consist of detailed introductory chapters creating a context by which identified properties may be evaluated as worthy of NHL designation. Published as both bound and unbound compilations, these theme studies have been used to identify, evaluate, and designate nearly all of the approximately 2,000 currently listed NHL properties.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLANNING

Passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (**NHPA**) of 1966 dramatically changed the face of preservation planning. Among its many provisions, the 1966 Act expanded the register of NHLs into the newly authorized National Register of Historic Places, the federal government's listing of historic properties of all levels of significance, including NHLs. Amendments to NHPA passed in 1980 required federal agencies to work together with State Historic Preservation Offices to develop programs to locate, inventory, nominate, and treat all eligible properties to the National Register (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 1984).

Procedures implementing this directive were first formalized by the Resource Protection Planning Process (Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service 1980). This program, commonly known as RP3, called upon SHPOs to (1) develop thematic **Study Units** delineating appropriate contextual relationships, (2) establish operating plans managing resources identified and evaluated in study units, and (3) link historic preservation with broad agency missions and goals. In 1983, this process was revised and codified in the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation (National Park Service 1983). These Standards were built around historic contexts combining RP3 study units with operating and management planning components to form a major part of the resource-based historic preservation planning process in nation-wide use today.

OTHER PLANNING PROCESSES

Cultural resource planning is an essential part of the management program of many government agencies. In the National Park Service, cultural resources are considered in General Management Plans, Resource Management Plans, New Area Studies, and other planning processes required for all park units and affiliated areas (National Park Service 1988). Plans drawn up by other federal agencies, such as U.S. Forest Service National Forests, Bureau of Land Management administrative areas, Department of Defense facilities, Indian Reservations, and other lands owned or held in trust by the federal government, also include consideration of cultural resources.

PLANNING ACROSS STATE LINES

Scholars, enthusiasts, and others have been gathering information on many aspects of America's cultural heritage since the earliest days of the American republic. Annual scholarly convocations, such as the Pecos Conference, organized by archeologist Alfred V. Kidder in 1927, and the Iroquois Conference, founded by William N. Fenton in 1945, were among the first organized efforts to synthesize cultural information on a regional level. Since

that time, many scholarly studies and organizations have emphasized regional or topical considerations.

Federal and state agencies routinely incorporate relevant scholarly findings in management documents. Most federal and state cultural resource agencies manage properties located within individual states or particular administrative units. Management documents produced by such agencies accordingly generally reflect the range and limits of their responsibilities.

Most federal and state agency planning documents provide guidance for the management of cultural resources located within local municipalities, counties, agency jurisdictions, cultural areas, physiographic regions, park or forest units, military bases, or construction project areas. Only a few plans, such as the U.S. Forest Service's Programmatic Agreement with the Florida SHPO, systematically coordinate federal and state cultural resource management within a number of separate agency units (U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, et al. 1989). More broadly conceived planning documents can serve as regional models. Virtually no existing plans currently span state lines.

Many factors account for this situation. Identification, evaluation, and utilization of the vast amounts of data associated with even the most localized historic context can present significant management difficulties. Regional, professional, and managerial differences in categories, nomenclature, levels of analysis, and research priorities also affect the scale and level of resolution of most preservation plans.

This situation is changing. A number of regional interstate cultural resource management plans currently are being developed. Much of this activity is taking place in the southwestern quarter of the United States. The Arkansas Archeological Survey, for example, presently is completing a 14 volume **Cultural Resources Overview** for the Southwestern Division of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Arkansas Archeological Survey 1989). This series of reports will provide information, documentation, and guidance to managers making decisions involving cultural resources affected by U.S. Army Corps of Engineers activities in an eight state region encompassing all of Texas, New Mexico, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and adjacent parts of Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado.

The U.S. Forest Service convened a multi-agency symposium at the Grand Canyon on May 2-6, 1988 to "establish what knowledge and technology is needed to make possible more effective management of cultural resources in the Southwest" (Tainter and Hamre 1988). Symposium participants developed recommendations concerning management impacts, protection and preservation, research needs, interpretation, and other topics. Regional application of an integrated planning approach combining historic context-based planning with archeological research design strategy was recommended (Lux 1988). The archeological research design emphasizes incorporation of methodological concerns in planning strategies (Goodyear 1978). Such an approach currently is being employed to develop thematic plans

for railroad logging sites, fire lookouts, western mining sites, and other property types on U.S. Forest Service lands in California.

The National Register staff introduced the "Multiple Property Documentation Form" in 1987. This form provides a practical and efficient method for developing and applying large-scale historic contexts to designate numbers of related historic properties. Several MPDFs, such as Rhode Island's exemplary "Indian Use of the Salt Pond Region between 4,000 B.P. and 1750 A.D.," thus far have been used to nominate thematically-related properties within states (P. Robinson 1987). The form also promises to be an important vehicle for future group nominations of historic properties spanning state lines.

Other federal agencies and several regional organizations, such as the Mid-Atlantic Region State Historic Preservation Office Planning Group, have discussed development of regional historic contexts in recent years. A number of themes and areas of mutual interest have been identified. Currently, the states of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania are working with NPS Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area and Mid-Atlantic Regional Office staff to create a regional historic context focusing on development. The NPS Southeast Region (SERO) is preparing a concurrent historic contact theme study nominating properties within its service area. These and other initiatives promise to significantly broaden the scope of regional preservation planning during the next few years.

PLANNING AND SIGNIFICANCE

All of the above-mentioned preservation planning processes use explicit evaluation criteria to determine resource significance. As stated earlier, the National Historic Landmarks survey applies six criteria to evaluate nationally significant properties. The National Register of Historic Places, the framework used by most preservation planners, employs fewer significance criteria to evaluate properties on local and statewide levels of significance.

Properties do not intrinsically possess significance (Tainter and Lucas 1983). Instead, determinations of significance are interpretations influenced by time, place, and circumstance. The state of knowledge, differences of opinion, scholarly trends, and even political considerations can influence determinations of significance (Tainter 1987). In short, a historic property's significance is dependent upon its contemporary context.

Evaluation criteria established in the Secretary's Standards allow preservationists to systematically assess the significance of historic properties. Systematic application of the Secretary's Standards minimizes impacts of subjective, random, or arbitrary factors.

Properties should be evaluated on their level of significance. At the present time, most planning processes are developed at local, county, regional, state, or national levels. Properties determined as significant at one level may not be found to be significant on

others. Nationally significant properties, for example, are recognized as our most valuable cultural resources. Yet, the national significance of a particular property or class of properties is not necessarily readily apparent.

Classification systems used by local municipal planners, for example, may lump potentially nationally significant properties together with others possessing local significance. Local planners, moreover, may regard the single representative of a highly regarded property type within their municipality as rarer and more significant than the four representatives of another locally occurring property type. Plans drawn up by such a municipality thus may determine that the four latter-mentioned resources collectively possess a lesser degree of significance than the single locally prominent property. Municipal managers reviewing a project adversely affecting one or more of the four above mentioned properties accordingly may recommend less rigorous preservation measures identified in the municipal preservation plan as appropriate for properties of lower significance.

A national level survey may find that all four properties are nationally significant. Such a survey may discover that the four properties are among the few known surviving representatives of a type illustrating a nationally significant theme. These four properties also may reveal a hithertofore undiscovered body of information or distribution of properties crucial to the theme's development. Application of standardized evaluation criteria developed upon a national scale thus might determine that one or all of these properties possess national significance. Municipal planners may then respond to this reevaluation by raising the significance levels of these properties.

RECOMMENDED PLANNING GOALS AND PRIORITIES

The following 11 goals represent a schematic framework reflecting steps necessary to identify, evaluate, and designate cultural resources associated with historic contact in the Northeast. Each of these goals is offered as a recommendations for future action by State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, federal agencies, local governments, and other agencies responsible for managing cultural resources. Goals and priorities are proposed for the Northeast in general, its three constituent regions, each sub-region, and, where appropriate, for each SHPO. It is hoped that federal, state, and local cultural resource managers will employ these suggested goals and priorities to develop new initiatives and increase effectiveness of ongoing programs aimed at preserving and protecting historic contact and other cultural resources.

Priorities presented below are ranked from the highest (Priority 1) to the lowest (Priority 2) as follows:

Priority 1:	Highest Priority-- Much remains to be done.
Priority 2:	Medium Priority-- Some remains to be done.
Priority 3:	Low Priority-- Much work already has been accomplished.

GOAL 1: COLLECTING INFORMATION STORED IN REPOSITORIES

Identification, collection, and organization of already gathered written, oral, and material evidence stored in repositories is the necessary first step in any project. The quality, extent, and accessibility of information sources bearing upon historic contact in the Northeast varies widely. Very little information is available on historic oral records and interviews recording knowledge of modern native people, professional scholars, avocationalists, and others are only just getting underway in some areas. Different kinds of written information present a range of challenges and opportunities. Archeological or ethnographic field notes, for example, largely remain in their author's possession and are rarely available for public examination even after the demise of their creators. Written sources directly documenting 16th-century events, for their part, are rare in the North and Middle Atlantic and non-existent in Trans-Appalachia. And, although much has already been done, substantial opportunities remain to scholars interested in bringing fresh perspectives and techniques to the study of the vast corpus of records documenting 17th- and 18th-century relations between natives and newcomers in the Northeast.

The priority list below shows that some form of systematic documentary, oral, or artifactual information survey has been undertaken in every part of the project area. Although general coverage has been most intensive in Trans-Appalachia, a great deal of work has been done in most sub-regions within the North and Middle Atlantic regions. Most of this attention has been directed towards European-Indian contact. Relatively little, by contrast, has yet been done on relations between Indian and African American people or among various native peoples themselves. Investigators also need to direct more attention towards currently under-utilized collections and their documentation in public and private museums, laboratories, and other repositories.

Priority 1: Areas where little or no systematic collection of information contained in publications, unpublished manuscripts and notes, laboratory and museum collections, memories of professional scholars and avocationalists, or other sources has yet been undertaken.

None

Priority 2: Systematic data collection efforts have been undertaken from two or more information source types.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Eastern Shore
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic Region

Trans-Appalachia:

Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 3: Many or most sources have been systematically surveyed.

North Atlantic:

Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Munsee Country
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
Indian-European Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

GOAL 2: FIELD SURVEY

Field surveys examining land surfaces and buried sub-surface deposits verify locations, characteristics, and conditions of resources alluded to in written, oral, and other sources. Reconnaissance-level surveys generally are preliminary explorations sampling very small parts of relatively large areas. Intensive surveys, for their part, more closely examine particular sites or locales.

As listings below show, field surveys have been conducted in every region and sub-region within the project area. Despite this fact, substantial areas remain unsurveyed everywhere in the Northeast.

Priority 1: Areas where little or no survey of any type has been undertaken.

None

Priority 2: Areas where reconnaissance-level surveys have been undertaken and where fewer than 20 percent of inventoried properties have been intensively surveyed.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country

Middle Atlantic:

Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Appalachian Highlands

Priority 3: Areas where reconnaissance-level surveys have been undertaken and where more than 20 percent of inventoried properties have been intensively surveyed.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Munsee Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
Indian-European Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
European-Indian Contact

GOAL 3: CONDITION ASSESSMENT

Resource integrity is a major requirement for designation and protection. As mentioned earlier, the very nature of archeological resources often makes such determinations difficult. The following lists noting the range and extent of existing records bearing upon the issue indicate that substantial resources should be directed towards assessing property conditions in every area of the Northeast.

Priority 1: Little or no systematic condition assessment information.

None

Priority 2: Largely incomplete or possibly superceded information.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Long Island
Mahican Country
Munsee Country

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 3: Relatively substantially complete and up-to-date systematic information available.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Seneca Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
European-Indian Contact

GOAL 4: SHPO MANUAL INVENTORY DEVELOPMENT

Every SHPO maintains an inventory of cultural resources within its state boundaries. Areas and extent of coverage, data categories, and accessibility of these records vary considerably. The lists below represent an impressionistic assessment derived during theme study development of present abilities of SHPO files to expeditiously retrieve comprehensive information on inventoried properties associated with historic contact. Accessibility is variously determined by such constraints as condition and extent of indexing systems, visitor access, ability to respond to phone or written data search requests, and funding variables.

Every SHPO was able to answer theme study research queries requesting information on inventoried properties associated with historic contact. Three SHPOs possessing small or well-indexed files were able to directly respond by mail with comprehensive lists of inventoried properties. Those SHPOs possessing larger or less well-indexed inventories

required lengthy manual file searches by SHPO staff or visiting NPS personnel. Experience gained during theme study development suggests that increasing effort should be directed towards enhancing inventory files accessibility.

Priority 1: Incomplete or totally inaccessible files.

None

Priority 2: Substantially complete files for which accessibility could be improved.

Delaware
District of Columbia
Maryland
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New York
Pennsylvania
Vermont
Virginia
West Virginia

Priority 3: A generally complete and accessible system in place.

Connecticut
Maine
Rhode Island

GOAL 5: COMPUTERIZED SHPO INVENTORY DEVELOPMENT

Computers presently provide the quickest and most efficient means available to SHPOs to access and update inventory files. Recognizing this fact, all SHPOs presently are utilizing or contemplating adoption of computer systems. Only three SHPOs in the Northeast theme study project area currently extensively utilize computerized inventories. Pennsylvania's Bureau of Historic Preservation currently is working to upgrade its database system and complete entry of all manual files. New York, for its part, currently utilizes computerized databases maintained by State Universities or individual scholars. And Massachusetts is working towards completing data entry of existing manual inventory files.

Increased efforts should be made to find ways to assist SHPOs contemplating computerized data inventory adoption and enhance the utility of computerized inventory systems currently in use.

Priority 1: No computerized inventory exists.

Connecticut
Delaware
District of Columbia
Maine
Maryland
New Hampshire
New Jersey
Rhode Island
Vermont
Virginia
West Virginia

Priority 2: Under development or partially completed.

Massachusetts
New York
Pennsylvania

Priority 3: Complete up-and-running system in place.

None

GOAL 6: SHPO HISTORIC CONTEXT PLANNING DOCUMENT DEVELOPMENT

Each SHPO is required to prepare statewide or regional historic contexts as part of its comprehensive preservation planning effort. Most SHPOs have completed documents dealing with resources from various prehistoric or later historic periods. Five SHPOS in the project area listed below have produced finished historic contexts for historic contact period resources. Five others have published historic contexts for particular areas within their states or are preparing statewide documents. The remaining four SHPOs continue to plan preparation of historic contact period context documentation.

Priority 1: No document completed or under development.

District of Columbia
Connecticut
Maryland
New Hampshire

Priority 2: Document under development.

Maine
New York (some areas)
Rhode Island
Virginia
West Virginia

Priority 3: Document completed or being updated.

Delaware
Massachusetts
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
Vermont

GOAL 7: INTERDISCIPLINARY OVERVIEW SYNTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Interdisciplinary studies synthesizing findings drawn from published and unpublished sources, curated objects and other stored repository materials, field data, inventory listings, and other sources provide crucial supporting documentation for planning documents. Some studies, like Barry C. Kent's "Susquehanna's Indians" and Colin Calloway's recently published survey of Western Abenaki ethnohistory, effectively employ multi-disciplinary approaches combining archeology, ethnography, and history to comprehensively examine entire areas and periods (Calloway 1990; Kent 1984). Others, such as James Bradley's "Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500-1655" (J. Bradley 1987a), use the same techniques to intensively survey specific themes, time periods, or areas. As the almost total absence of non-documentary sources in most articles published in the recent "History of Indian-White Relations" volume of the "Handbook of North American Indians" (Washburn 1988) graphically shows, much remains to be done in this area.

Priority 1: No up-to-date document available.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Mahican Country

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Eastern Shore

Trans-Appalachia:

Oneida Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 2: Document under development, in thesis form, or in manuscript.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Narragansett Country
Munsee Country

Middle Atlantic:

Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country

Priority 3: Published document available.

North Atlantic:

Western Abenaki Country
Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Eastern Long Island
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic
Indian-European Relations

Trans-Appalachia:

Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
European-Indian Contact

GOAL 8: THEMATIC VALUE REPRESENTATION

As utilized in this theme study, the NHL Thematic Framework represents a series of nationally significant research questions. The following listings indicate the extent to which already designated NHLs and properties herein nominated as NHLs address research questions illuminating major aspects of historic contact in the Northeast.

Nominated properties address many currently unrepresented or under-represented thematic areas. Further efforts need to be made to identify and nominate properties illustrating Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments, maritime and religious sub-facets of

Establishing Intercultural Relations, and all sub-facets bearing upon Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.

Priority 1: Thematic values represented by two or less designated or nominated properties.

North Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

Middle Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i:	Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.c:	Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.d:	Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

Trans-Appalachia:

Sub-Facet I.D.1.i:	Native Adaptations to Northeastern Environments.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.b:	Whaling and other Maritime Activities.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.f:	Defending Native Religious Systems.
Facet I.D.4:	Native Contributions to the Development of the Nation's Cultures.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.a:	Transferring Native Technology to Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.4.b:	Native Roles in Decorative and Fine Arts, Literature, and Music.

Sub-Facet I.D.4.c: Native Roles in the Development of Humanism, the Social Sciences, and the Law.

Sub-Facet I.D.4.d: Native Roles in the Changing Images of America.

Priority 2: Thematic values represented by from two to five designated or nominated properties.

North Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g: Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.

Middle Atlantic:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g: Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.

Trans-Appalachia:

Sub-Facet I.D.2.g: Introductions to Foreign Religious Systems.

Priority 3: Thematic values represented by six or more designated or nominated properties.

North Atlantic:

Facet I.D.2: Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a: Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c: Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d: Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e: Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h: New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i: Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j: Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k: Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3: Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a: Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b: Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c: The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d: Changing Settlement Types.

Middle Atlantic:

Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.

Trans-Appalachia:

Facet I.D.2:	Establishing Intercultural Relations.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.a:	Trapping and Fishing for Newcomers.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.c:	Military Scouts.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.d:	Guiding Explorers Across New Territories.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.e:	Defending Native Homelands.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.h:	New Native Military Alliances.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.i:	Trade Relationships.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.j:	Cash Cropping.
Sub-Facet I.D.2.k:	Helping Foreigners Survive: Providing Food, Clothing, and Shelter.
Facet I.D.3:	Varieties of Early Conflict, Conquest, or Accommodation.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.a:	Transfer of Technology to Native People.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.b:	Forced and Voluntary Population Movements.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.c:	The New Demographics.
Sub-Facet I.D.3.d:	Changing Settlement Types.

GOAL 9: NOMINATING NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS IN NEW AREAS

Areas within which no designated NHLs associated with the Indian side of historic contact existed at the beginning and during completion of this theme study have been considered Priority 1 high nomination priority areas. Areas where only one property possessing

associations with historic contact had been previous designated as a NHL were considered Priority 2 medium nomination priority regions. Priority 3 areas where two or more properties possessing primary associations with Indian people during historic contact times already had been designated as NHLs were considered low nomination priority regions.

As the Priority 3 listing below so emphatically shows, only a very few currently designated NHL properties (such as Boughton Hill NHL) possess values primarily associated with the Indian side of historic contact. Because of this fact, special efforts have been made to increase recognition of all such properties in every Priority areas included in this theme study.

Priority 1: Areas containing no currently designated NHL.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Eastern Long Island
Dutch-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 2: Areas containing one currently designated NHL.

North Atlantic:

Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys
Mahican Country
Munsee Country

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

Seneca Country

Priority 3: Areas with two or more currently designated NHL properties.

North Atlantic:

French-Indian Contact

Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

European-Indian Contact

GOAL 10: AREAS STILL IN NEED OF NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK REPRESENTATION

Priority 1 areas represent sub-regions where no property associated with historic contact has been or is projected to be nominated as a NHL. Priority 2 areas contain only one NHL property associated with historic contact. Two or more NHLs are present in Priority 3 areas.

Extremely well documented intact properties located in Priority 1 areas, like the Fort Hill site in Western Abenaki Country, should be proposed for designation pending removal of existing nomination impediments. Other Priority 1 areas should be surveyed to identify and develop documentation sufficient to evaluate potentially nationally significant properties as future NHLs. Further study also should be undertaken to identify additional associated resources, increase overall designation numbers, and enhance NHL thematic representation in Priority 2 and 3 areas.

Priority 1: Areas where no property has been or is projected to be nominated as a NHL.

North Atlantic:

Western Abenaki Country

Middle Atlantic:

Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys

Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Oneida Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country

Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands

Priority 2: Areas containing one property designated or nominated as a NHL.

North Atlantic:

Eastern Massachusetts
Narragansett Country

Eastern Long Island

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
James and York Valleys

European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country

Susquehanna Country

Priority 3: Areas containing two or more properties designated or nominated as NHLs.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Eastern Connecticut
Mahican Country
Munsee Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys

Trans-Appalachia:

European-Indian Contact

GOAL 11: NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES DESIGNATION

National Register studies provide the crucial basic level of identification and evaluation documentation necessary for managing cultural resources. Figures listed below do not represent exactly comparable enumerations. Several NR Districts contain large numbers of contributing properties while large numbers of individual sites may be long destroyed or be little more than small artifact scatters. These figures therefore represent approximations suggestive of broad designation patterns.

Priority 1: Less than 10 percent of inventoried properties are listed or have been studied for listing or eligibility.

North Atlantic:

Western Abenaki Country
Eastern Massachusetts
Mahican Country
Munsee Country
Dutch-Indian Contact
French-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Delaware Country

Susquehannocks in the Middle Atlantic

Trans-Appalachia:

Mohawk Country
Onondaga Country
Cayuga Country
Seneca Country
Niagara Frontier and Portage Escarpment
Susquehanna Country (excluding Susquehannocks)
Maryland and Virginia Uplands
Appalachian Highlands
European-Indian Contact

Priority 2: From 10 to 50 percent of inventoried properties are listed or have been studied for listing or eligibility.

North Atlantic:

Maine
Narragansett Country
Eastern Connecticut
Anglo-Indian Contact

Middle Atlantic:

Eastern Shore
Potomac and Rappahannock Valleys
James and York Valleys
Nottoway and Meherrin Valleys
European-Indian Contact

Trans-Appalachia:

Susquehanna Country (Susquehannocks Only)

Priority 3: More than 50 percent of inventoried properties are listed or have been studied for listing or eligibility.

None

It is further recommended that all SHPOs and other agencies coordinate results of historic contact period historic context planning findings to broaden management process integration by developing or enhancing effectiveness of public awareness initiatives, regulatory preservation mechanisms, cooperative preservation partnership efforts, and other cultural resource management tools and procedures.

PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

IDENTIFICATION

Identification is the critical first step necessary to all cultural resource management. Alarmed by high rates of site destruction affecting all historic resources and concerned with problems associated with managing known properties, increasing numbers of federal and state agency personnel, tribal leaders, preservationists, and specialists have called for development of more efficient strategies for the protection of our cultural heritage. This project is a direct response to this call.

The MARO Cultural Resource Planning Branch staff first formulated its response to this call following a series of meetings and discussions with federal, state, and academic archeologists and planners in 1987 and 1988. Many of these discussions were inspired by newly instituted programs supporting development and implementation of statewide historic preservation plans mandated by the National Park Service for recipients of Historic Preservation Fund grants-in-aid. All discussants recognized the desirability of systematizing information on a regional scale. Few SHPOs had developed a historic context for historic contact period resources in the seventeen state region served by MARO.

These developments coincided with discussions formulating the NPS Archeological Assistance Program's Archeological NHL initiative. Concerned by the relatively low number of archeological properties designated as NHLs, NPS History Division and Archeological Assistance Division Washington Office staff created this initiative to increase representation of archeological resources in NHL listings.

The MARO Cultural Resource Planning Branch staff linked regional interest in the historic contact period with NPS preservation planning and archeological NHL initiatives during the Fall of 1988. Preliminary project goals and objectives were drafted. Recognizing the need for extensive cooperation between agencies and the preservation public for implementation of these goals and objectives, MARO staff quickly established two advisory groups to guide project development and provide technical assistance.

The first of these groups consisted of NPS personnel representing the NPS Archeological Assistance, History, Anthropology, and Interagency Resources Divisions. The second advisory group comprised designated SHPO coordinators from the 17 states within MARO. States in other regions were later added to this group. The SHPO coordinators fulfilled a vital role as liaisons between MARO and preservation publics within states by distributing theme study announcements and other materials to archeological societies, historical societies, tribal governments, and others. The SHPO coordinators collected theme study information, assessed data quality, and provided review comments on project scope, content, and direction.

The MARO staff developed initial project goals, methods, scope, and schedule requirements during the last months of 1988. Two years initially were allotted for project completion. An announcement describing the project was mailed to program advisors. The SHPO coordinators were asked to distribute this announcement to specialists, preservationists, and tribal governments within their states for comment. Several states helped by publishing the announcement in their SHPO or State Archaeological Society newsletter.

National Park Service personnel initially reviewed and revised project goals and priorities. Informal discussions with SHPO coordinators conducted by telephone and at professional meetings further defined and refined project goals, form, and, purpose. The First Joint Archaeological Congress, held in Baltimore, Maryland on January 5-9, 1989, presented a particularly advantageous opportunity for MARO staff to meet with many SHPO coordinators and other scholars and preservationists.

Discussions held at the Archaeological Congress focused upon issues of resource identification and evaluation. How, many archeologists asked, would potential NHLs be identified? Would standing structures be included? Would all properties associated with the historic contact period be surveyed, or would inventory be restricted to nationally significant cultural resources? Would the project report be an exhaustive scholarly treatise or a relatively brief and simply worded management document? How would evaluation criteria be determined? Would evaluation guidelines only be developed for nationally significant properties, or would they be defined for all associated resources?

The main thrust of these and other questions centered around the project's purpose and scope. Strong support was indicated for development of a planning document that could easily be adapted to statewide historic preservation planning requirements. Members of the preservation community further expressed strong interest in development of far-reaching significance statements under which large numbers of properties could be identified, evaluated, and designated at all levels of significance.

The MARO staff responded to these comments in a detailed project outline distributed one month after the Archeological Congress. The SHPO coordinators distributed copies of this framework to all preservationists and Indian communities in their states.

This outline contained the first presentation of a national-level historic context. It began with a brief discussion of the purpose and scope of the project. This was followed by a listing (including telephone numbers) of all NPS and SHPO project advisors. Next, project thematic, geographic, and chronological frameworks were presented. Listings and maps correlated late prehistoric and protohistoric archeological complexes with historic Indian and European ethnic groups. A framework for property type delineation was presented.

This information was followed by lists tabulating findings from surveys of designated nationally significant historic contact properties. The first tabulation assessed existing NHL

theme representation in the project area. A second listing cross-indexed these data by state. This was followed by a listing of "Historic-Aboriginal" National Register properties recommended as nationally significant by their nominating authorities compiled through a National Register Information System (NRIS) computer search. The outline ended with a preliminary listing of potential NHL designees identified by SHPO coordinators and individual preservationists.

Numerous helpful suggestions for revisions and refinements were received in responses sent to SHPO coordinators throughout 1989 and 1990. Modifications in project categories and boundaries, changes in regional historic contact period context development, and survey of existing state and local inventories were suggested. Respondents also identified 26 potential NHL properties located in 12 states.

Many archeologists provided particularly valuable assistance correlating late prehistoric or protohistoric archeological complexes with ethnohistorically or ethnographically documented tribal groups. Specialists recommended several critically important studies and brought pertinent bibliographic citations to the attention of MARO project staff.

Matters of nomenclature and typology presented particularly challenging problems. Differences of opinion among archeologists, now superseded research priorities, and gaps in the archeological record have long affected attempts to reconcile state and regional variations or inconsistencies. By influencing analyses of terminal Late Woodland period diagnostic artifacts, these factors often make it difficult to identify and understand cultural dynamics in the study area.

Archeologists continually search for artifacts closely associated with particular cultures or time periods. Specific ceramic styles and bifacially-flaked stone projectile point or knife types are generally regarded as the most sensitive indicators of cultural identity and change. New research findings continually require archeologists to revise their views of what is and what is not diagnostic.

Finely chipped thin triangular stone projectile points, for example, have long been widely regarded as temporal indicators of Late Woodland period occupation in the Northeast. Although thicker and less finely crafted triangular projectile points have long been associated with far more ancient cultural traditions, recent discoveries of more finely chipped thin variants in equally ancient deposits challenge long held assumptions that thinner points are less old than thicker variants (Dincauze 1976a; Kraft 1975; Stewart 1989; Wingerson and Wingerson 1976).

Attempts to assign specific chronological or cultural associations to generally equilateral straight-based Madison-type triangular projectile points and more concave-based isosceles Levanna types also have been inconclusive. Madison types, for example, have not been shown to be older than Levannas (Kraft 1975). Although many archeologists have suggested

that Madison types occur with greater frequency in interior areas than in coastal regions, assertions suggesting that "Madison points were the exclusive Iroquois projectile style" await confirmation (Haviland and Power 1981). Existing studies indicate that both Madison and Levanna forms generally were contemporaneous in most areas of the Northeast between A.D. 900 and 1750.

Pottery types and styles continue to be widely regarded as generally reliable diagnostic markers of late prehistoric or early historic contact period occupation. Recent analysis of Late Woodland pottery from upper Delaware River valley sites indicates that archeologists need to exercise caution whenever using pottery as a chronological tool. Discovering older pottery types mixed together with later types in pits at several sites, archeologists have concluded that the valley's occupants added new types and styles while retaining older variants (Kraft 1975a; Moeller 1990). Archeologists using pottery as diagnostic markers in areas where such patterns have been identified should use assemblages rather than individual types to determine site age or cultural affiliation.

Typological issues also affect the ability of ceramics to reveal temporal or chronological information. Many archeologists focusing upon small-scale social processes, for example, emphasize unique attributes of each ceramic type variation in order to establish locally distinct pottery types. Such local types often are associated with small social units such as families, bands, or corporate kin groups. Other archeologists studying larger-scale processes work to develop more comprehensive typologies encompassing many related variations in order to identify tribal identities or delineate "interaction spheres" of widely shared symbols, beliefs, and trade networks (Caldwell 1964).

Most archeologists are reluctant to merge typologies at high levels of abstraction. Many remember graduate seminars recounting problems caused earlier in the century by lumping all collared globular pots as "Iroquoian" and all collarless conoidal pots as "Algonkian" (Parker 1922; Wintemberg 1931). Subsequent research showed that this simplistic typology erroneously lumped together many distinct and unrelated cultures, social groups, time periods, and ceramic styles (Brumbach 1975; MacNeish 1952).

The shortcomings of overly simplistic or naive lumping often are apparent and should be avoided. Caution is advised in such fast developing fields as ceramic analysis where new information is changing hypotheses on an almost daily basis. Reluctance to develop more comprehensive typologies also can limit comparative analyses. Archeologists, whether lumpers or splitters, should consider project scope and scale when developing or analyzing typologies or nomenclatures for ceramics and other artifact classes.

Information received from SHPO coordinators revealed that fewer than half of the states within MARO had developed historic contexts covering the period of historic contact. This survey also indicated that less than half of the states in the region had prepared listings or established computerized access to information bearing upon historic contact period

properties. Review of available SHPO survey information, moreover, indicated that only a limited percentage of the many hundreds of sites mentioned in historic documents had thus far been inventoried.

Many of these properties were identified and registered by academic and avocational archeologists. Project research determined that growing numbers of historic contact sites were being reported during the course of Historic Preservation Fund-financed survey, planning, and review and compliance actions.

Discussions with SHPO coordinators revealed that variations in survey scope and coverage were largely functions of funding limitations, competing program priorities, shortages of computer equipment, unavailability of automated data management personnel, or differences in state data categories, typologies, or research orientations. Despite these variations, SHPOs provided enough information to preliminarily delineate known property distributions, identify known and expected property types, and formulate theme study goals and priorities. Unsurveyed areas and unanalyzed bodies of data were identified for further study.

Among project goals and priorities were recommendations that all SHPOs develop historic context documents for the historic contact period, inventory presently unsurveyed areas, and study unanalyzed collections. SHPO recommendations further supported use of computerized systems for inventories.

Previous NHL theme studies identified undesignated properties, listed related sites classified as having exceptional value in other themes, and recommended other sites for further study. The Northeast Historic Contact NHL theme study expanded upon this tradition by listing all pertinent properties thus far inventoried within the project area.

Review of National Register nomination forms showed that properties associated with the historic contact period in the Northeast rarely were identified or evaluated as a group. Instead, virtually all previously designated sites or districts were individually nominated. Examination of property representation within NHL theme categories revealed that historic contact period cultural resources are not proportionally represented within the existing framework. Research emphases of earlier NHL theme studies has resulted in few designations of historic contact period properties in the Northeast. Particularly telling was the discovery that relatively few Northeastern historic contact properties were identified in theme studies dealing with the colonial era (Sarles and Shedd 1959a, 1959b, and 1960; Shedd 1959 and 1961).

Properties designated in these theme studies tended to represent the European side of the encounter between natives and newcomers. When considered at all, Indian people generally were described as obstacles to frontier expansion. The high percentage of forts designated by many of these theme studies mutely testified to this attitude.

The single theme study devoted to Indian historic contact, entitled "Contact With The Indians," presented a large body of information of potential significance to the study of Indian-colonial relations in the Northeast (Holder 1963). Only two of the 30 sites designated by this theme study (the Accokeek Creek site, in Maryland, and the Boughton Hill site, in New York) were located within the region.

Two factors are responsible for the small percentage of Northeastern sites nominated in this theme study. First, most of the best known Indian historic contact sites identified prior to 1963 were located west of the Mississippi River. Second, the archeology of Indian historic sites in the Northeast was not yet extensively developed at the time this theme study was published.

The recent explosion of scholarly activity associated with historic contact period studies in the Northeast contributed to the identification of the hundreds of properties listed in this document. Interestingly, only one of the 20 properties nominated as NHLs or upgraded thematically in this study, the Minisink site in New Jersey, was identified as a potential NHL site recommended for further study in earlier theme studies. All but four of the present 20 NHL nominees are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Less than half of these listings were recommended as nationally significant by the nominating authority. Most instead have been designated at the level of State significance.

Five properties, Cushnoc in Maine, Old Fort Niagara and Ward's Point (the Billopps or Conference House) in New York, St. Mary's City, Maryland, and Camden, in Virginia, are located within or nearby existing NHLs. None of the documentation on file with these NHLs currently recognizes cultural resources specifically associated with historic contact. Project participants identifying these properties propose to expand their level of documentation to include consideration of this period.

Several properties studied during this project were not nominated in this theme study. Landowners opposed designation of some while others required further testing or additional documentation. Several properties possessing values not addressed in this theme study also were identified. At least two of these, Flint Ridge in Ohio and the Coxsackie Flint Quarry in New York, may be nominated as NHLs under other themes sometime in the future.

Property Sponsors

Nineteen archeologists supported the initiative by voluntarily sponsoring designation or designation-upgrade of identified properties. In keeping with project goals restricting research to syntheses of existing data, sponsors were not been called upon to collect new information, analyze unsynthesized data, or prepare new text. Instead, property sponsors were asked to delineate property boundaries, determine resource temporal and cultural affiliations, identify property owners, and obtain preliminary indications of their consent to designation. Following acceptance of resource boundaries and affirmation of owner consent

by NPS History Division staff, property sponsors were asked to provide pertinent data or references to key citations. Finally, property sponsors reviewed products prepared by project personnel and were given the opportunity to comment on all theme study drafts.

Properties and Sponsors

Byrd Leibhart, PA	Barry C. Kent
Camden NHL, VA	Vir. Department of Historic Resources
Chicone, MD	Richard B. Hughes
Cocumscussoc, RI	Patricia E. Rubertone
Cushnoc, ME	Leon E. Cranmer
Fort Corchaug, NY	Ralph Solecki and Lorraine E. Williams
Fort Orange, NY	Paul R. Huey
Fort Shantok, CT	Lorraine E. Williams and Kevin A. McBride
Mashantucket Pequot Reservation, CT	Kevin A. McBride
Minisink, NJ	Herbert C. Kraft
Mohawk Upper Castle, NY	Dean R. Snow
Nauset, MA	Francis P. McManamon
Norridgewock, ME	Bruce J. Bourque, Ellen R. Cowie, and James B. Petersen
Old Fort Niagara NHL, NY	Douglas Knight and Patricia Kay Scott
Pamunkey Indian Reservation, VA	Vir. Department of Historic Resources
Pemaquid, ME	Robert L. Bradley
Pentagoet, ME	Alaric Faulkner
St. Mary's City NHL, MD	Henry M. Miller
Schuyler Flatts, NY	Paul R. Huey
Ward's Point, NY	Robert S. Grumet

EVALUATION

Properties identified in this project have been evaluated at all levels of significance. Evaluation criteria determine designation priorities. NHL evaluation criteria largely center upon determinations of national significance of properties that outstandingly represent or embody one or more of the six NHL significance criteria. In accordance with current policy, all properties considered for nomination also are required to address Criterion 6.

High priority has been accorded to nationally significant properties associated with sub-themes, facets, and sub-facets not represented or under represented in the NHL Sub-Theme D, "Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations." Designation of properties located in states or regions not containing existing NHLs associated with historic contact also was accorded high priority. High designation priorities further were assigned to properties

associated with historic contact period Indian cultures identified in the theme study not presently represented in the NHL framework.

Site integrity plays a major role in determining designation priorities for nationally significant resources. A relatively well-preserved property possessing high potential to yield nationally significant information was assigned a higher preservation priority than a poorly preserved, fragmentary, or substantially disturbed site. The integrity of archeological deposits may not always be a major consideration in properties in which archeological values are not of primary importance. The integrity of spiritually significant properties such as Bear Butte NHL, South Dakota, a Cheyenne holy place, for example, may be impaired by inappropriate development or site destruction. Such actions also may affect the integrity of properties associated with the history of science nominated more for information they have yielded rather than for what they may yield in the future. Disturbance of archeological deposits at these sites and similar sites thus may not necessarily affect their primary associative values.

Previous NHL theme studies frequently assessed properties not chosen for designation. Others listed properties recommended for future study. Many such properties were classified as having exceptional value in other themes. Others were recommended for further study within the same theme. The present theme study has built upon this tradition of considering a range of potential NHL nominees by using the National Register of Historic Places criteria to preliminarily determine the significance of all inventoried properties associated with the historic contact period. These evaluation criteria have been applied to all theme study categories and typologies. By combining NHL and NR significance levels and evaluation criteria, this theme study provides government agencies, Indian communities, and others involved in preservation activities with the widest possible framework for the evaluation of nationally-significant historic contact resources.

TREATMENT

Historic context-driven goals and priorities should be considered whenever actions potentially or actually affect associated cultural resources. Historic context planning goals and priorities cannot be applied in every situation. Certain areas of SHPO operation, such as transportation procurement or labor relations, are not amenable to historic context-driven goals and priorities. Practical management considerations arising from specific actions effecting historic properties, moreover, also may not always conform with resource-centered planning goals and priorities.

Preservation planning should consider administrative constraints imposed by budget, staffing, and time factors whenever possible. Strategies for dealing with existing policies, programs, or attitudes also should be developed. Agencies, societies, and individuals supportive or less sympathetic to cultural resource management should be identified.

Agency planning can identify appropriate preservation procedures. Plans also can minimize impacts of unanticipated situations. Plans are created in a real world in which preservation is only one of many factors considered in any action. Historic context goals and priorities sometimes can be distinct from certain management considerations. They cannot be exclusive. Preservationists and project managers must work together to balance historic context-driven planning objectives with agency or tribal programs and project requirements.

Preservation plans, therefore, should consider tensions generated by conflicting project and cultural resource management goals and priorities. Plans should also recognize complementary aspects of project considerations and historic preservation. Conflict and accord are present in nearly all undertakings. Preservation planners should recognize this by regarding historic context-driven goals and priorities as guides for action rather than as constraints mandating specific responses.

The NHL program presently addresses several practical considerations in resource designation. The wishes of landowners and other interested parties, for example, are taken into account in any NHL undertaking. Private owner objection is a legal barrier to designation. Objections from interested parties also raise significant concerns that must be addressed directly. Goals and priorities developed by this theme study reflect the importance of this issue by requiring that landowners consent to NHL nomination of their properties prior to study. By explicitly considering such vitally important issues, this theme study has become a more effective preservation planning management tool.

GENERAL PROJECT GOAL SUMMARY

The most immediate product resulting from this project is the group nomination of 16 properties as National Historic Landmarks and the thematic upgrade of four existing NHLs. Over the long run, this theme study is expected to serve as a vehicle providing information on the historic contact period to government agencies, Indian communities, specialists, and the general public. It is also expected that information contained within this document will assist in the preservation of all historic contact period properties. Above all, it is hoped that this theme study will serve as a model for application of the historic context planning concept in NHL theme studies.

Utilization of the historic context framework will make project format and findings available to federal, tribal, state, and local government planners, other cultural resource managers, preservationists, specialists, and the general public. And, because preservation planning is a dynamic process responding to advances in knowledge and changes in government regulation, this theme study, like other plans, will serve as a benchmark for future studies. In the process, the project document will preserve a record of what archeologists, tribal people, and other preservationists regarded as significant at the time of its development.

PROJECT REVIEW

The following specialists made particularly significant contributions to theme study project development by providing documentation to project staff, preparing particularly extensive draft review comments, and furnishing other important technical assistance:

Monte Bennett
Bruce Bourque
Robert Bradley
James Brown
Colin Calloway
Dena Dincauze
Gregory Dowd
Alaric Faulkner
Charles Gehring
George Hamell
Robert Hasenstab
Paul Huey
Francis Jennings
Richard Kanaski
Alice Kehoe
Herbert Kraft
Howard MacCord, Sr.
Robert Maslowski
Kevin McBride
Henry Miller
Larry Moore
Cheryl Ann Munson
James Pendergast
Harald Prins
Patricia Rubertone
Donald Rumrill
Patricia Scott
Martha Sempowski
Dean Snow
Ralph Solecki
William Starna
R. Michael Stewart
Peter Thomas
Elisabeth Tooker
E. Randolph Turner
C.A. Weslager

Significant technical assistance also was provided by the following Washington Office National Park Service ad hoc Northeast Theme Study Advisory Committee:

Anthropology Division	Muriel Crespi Tim McKeown (1990)
Archeological Assistance Division	Dick Waldbauer
Geographic Information System Branch	John Knoerl (after 1990)
History Division	Ben Levy
National Register Branch	John Knoerl (until 1990) Jan Townsend (after 1990)
Preservation Planning Branch	De Teel Patterson Tiller Sue Henry (after 1990)

The following State Historic Preservation Offices and SHPO theme study coordinators served as liaison between state, local, and tribal governments, specialists, and NPS project staff:

Connecticut	David Poirier
Delaware	Alice Guerrant
District of Columbia	Nancy Kassner (until 1990)
	Laura Henley (after 1990)
Illinois	Thomas Emerson (1991)
Indiana	James R. Jones, III (until 1991)
Kentucky	David Pollack (1990-1991)
Maine	Arthur Spiess
Maryland	Richard B. Hughes
Massachusetts	James W. Bradley (until 1990)
	Constance Crosby (after 1990)
Michigan	John Halsey (until 1991)
New Hampshire	Parker B. Potter, Jr.
New Jersey	Terry Karschner
New York	Charles Florance (until 1990)
	Robert D. Kuhn (after 1990)
Ohio	Alan R. Tonetti
Pennsylvania	Kurt Carr
Rhode Island	Paul A. Robinson
Vermont	Giovanna Peebles
Virginia	E. Randolph Turner, III
West Virginia	James Bloemker (until 1990)
	Michael Pauley (after 1990)
Wisconsin	Robert Birmingham (1991)

The following members of the Society for American Archaeology's National Historic Landmarks Committee provided significant review comments:

David S. Brose, Chair
Stanley A. Ahler
Jeanne E. Arnold
Albert Dekin, Jr.
Tim A. Kohler

The first draft of the project outline was mailed to the WASO-NPS ad hoc advisory committee and all SHPO Coordinators for distribution to members of each state's scholarly, preservation, and tribal communities on March 15, 1989. Project notices were circulated widely and published in the Ohio, New Hampshire, and Virginia SHPO newsletters. Responses to these and other communications were received from June 1, 1989 to March 2, 1990 from all NPS project advisory committee members and SHPO Coordinators. Forty one individuals also submitted responses to initial project requests for technical assistance.

A pre-distribution review draft dated March, 1990 was circulated to NPS project advisory committee members, NPS Regional Offices, and attendees at the Northeastern Anthropological Association meeting in Burlington, Vermont (March 28 to April 1, 1990) and the annual meeting of the New York State Archaeological Association in Sparrowbush, NY (April 21-22, 1990). Other copies were distributed to specialists. Copies of several completed inventory chapters also were distributed to the SHPO Coordinators for statewide distribution to specialists, tribal governments, and other interested parties in June, 1990. Comments on these materials were received from all NPS project advisory committee members, SHPO Coordinators, and 18 individual respondents.

A general distribution draft containing all document components was distributed to SHPO Coordinators, NPS project advisory committee members, federal and state-recognized Indian tribes within the region, and all above listed respondents between October, 1990 and January, 1991. Notification of review draft availability also was sent to all NPS regional offices and NPS Mid-Atlantic region park units.

Draft responses ranging from brief receipt acknowledgements to highly detailed reviews comprising many pages were received from federal and state agency project personnel and 38 individual respondents.

Twenty five respondents submitted comments on penultimate draft sections circulated from September, 1991 to February, 1992. Another 34 individuals responded to the final draft between February and June, 1992. The theme study and the first seven nominations developed from project materials were reviewed at the June 11, 1992 History Division Consultants Meeting in Washington, D.C. and formally presented to the NHL History Areas Committee Meeting in Washington, D.C. on July 7, 1992.

Respondents not listed above include:

David Anthony
Barbara Applebaum
Alex Barker
Carl Barna
Louise Basa
Alan Beauregard
Eloise Beil
Barbara Bell
Charles Bello
Nels Bohn
Marie Bourassa
James Bradley
Susan Branstner
Janet Brashler
John Brown
Hetty Jo Brumbach
Ian Burrow
Anne-Marie Cantwell
Ronald Carlisle
John Cavallo
Paul Cissna
Charles Cleland
Dennis Connors
Edward Cook
C. Wesley Cowan
Jay Custer
Thomas Cutter
Thomas Davidson
Mary Davis
Joseph Diamond
Anne Dowd
Ethel Eaton
Keith Egloff
Leonard Eisenberg
William Engelbrecht
William N. Fenton
Charles Fithian
David Fuerst
Hugh Gibbs
Virginia Gibbs
Frederic Gleach
Roy Goodman
Jeffrey Graybill
Daniel Griffith
James Griffin
Donald Grinde
David Guldenzopf
Laurence Hauptman
John Haynes
A. Gwynn Henderson
Mary Ellen Hodges
Curtiss Hoffman
Jerome Jacobson
Edward Johannemann
Michael Johnson
Kurt Kalb
Barry Kent
Albert Klyberg
Robert Kuhn
W. Frederick Limp
Elizabeth Little
Barbara Luedtke
Nancy Lurie
Ronald Mason
John McCarthy
Leslie Mead
John McCashion
William Miles
Jay Miller
Roger Moeller
J.T. Moldenhauer
John Moody
L. Daniel Mouer
E. Pierre Morenon
Stephen Mrowzowski
Daniel Murphy
Ed Natay
Tony Opperman
Daniel Pagano
Ruth Piwonka
Stephen Potter
John Pratt
Peter Pratt
Stuart Reeve
Daniel Rogers
Nan Rothschild
David Sanger
Sally Sappey
Lorraine Saunders
Ellen-Rose Savulis
M. Patricia Schaap
Kent Schneider
Marvin Smith
David Stothers
John Strong
Lynne Sullivan
Joseph Tainter
Ronald Thomas
Linda Towle
Alden Vaughan
Nina Versaggi
Wilcomb Washburn
Laurie Weinstein-Farson
Ronald Wyatt

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